

RECITING THE QUR'AN IN THE LIFE CYCLE, CALENDRICAL, AND OCCASIONAL RITUALS

The Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women: Their position of religious authority, agency, and role within the patriarchal organization













TILBURG UNIVERSITY

FARAH NURIL IZZA

TILBURG UNIVERSITY



Understanding Society

Reciting the Qur'an in the Life Cycle, Calendrical, and Occasional Rituals

The Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women: Their position of religious authority, agency, and role within the patriarchal organization





المعهد الاسلامي دار السلام

PONDOK PESANTREN

Darussalam

DUKUHWALUH – KEMBARAN – PURWOKERTO

BANYUMAS – JAWA TENGAH

www.darussalampurwokerto.com

Reciting the Qur'an in the Life Cycle, Calendrical, and Occasional Rituals

The Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women: Their position of religious authority, agency, and role within the patriarchal organization

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan Tilburg University op gezag van de rector magnificus, prof. dr. W.B.H.J. van de Donk, in het openbaar te verdedigen ten overstaan van een door het college voor promoties aangewezen commissie in de Aula van de Universiteit op woensdag 14 juni 2023 om 10.00 uur

door

Farah Nuril Izza,

geboren te Wonosobo, Indonesië

Promotores:

prof. dr. H.L. Beck (Tilburg University)
prof. dr. O.M. Heynders (Tilburg University)

Copromotor:

dr. A. Nugteren (Tilburg university)

Leden promotiecommissie:

prof. dr. P.A. Van Doorn-Harder (Wake Forest University (USA) + Vrije Universiteit (Amsterdam))
prof. dr. M.W. Buitelaar (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)
prof. dr. N.J.G. Kaptein (Leiden University)
prof. dr. P.G.J. Post (Tilburg University)

Layout and cover design by: Ahmad Sam'ani
Printed by: Ridderprint BV, the Netherlands

©2023 Farah Nuril Izza, The Netherlands. All rights reserved. No parts of this thesis may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means without permission of the author.

To my (late) father, mother, husband, and sons

Thank you for your support and unconditional love



Acknowledgments

I am truly grateful to the many people who made this journey possible. First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to my promotor, Prof. Dr. H.L. Beck for accepting me as his PhD student, for his kindness, and for valuable guidance during my PhD trajectory. It would have been quite impossible to do the research work and make it into this stage without his support and encouragement. I also appreciate the time and effort given by my other promotor Prof. Dr. O.M. Heynders for reviewing my manuscript. I am indebted to my co-promotor (late) Dr. A. Nugteren for her assistance, criticism, insightful remarks, and warmness. She was caring and careful about the entire process even when she was very ill. Besides my promotors and co-promotor, I would like to give thanks to the committee members of my dissertation: Prof. Dr. P.A. Van Doorn Harder, Prof. Dr. M.W. Buitelaar, Prof. Dr. N.J.G. Kaptein, and Prof. Dr. P.G.J. Post.

I am intensely indebted to all the participants of this study, in particular, Bu Amri, Bu Lilik, Bu Faizah, Bu Mulik, Bu Munjiyah, Bu Suci, umi Misma, Mba Lailatis, Bu Nyai Um, By Nyai Ida, Bu Nyai Yayang, Bu Nyai Munjidah, Bu Faicha, Bu Umi. My thanks also to De Nafis and De Mitha for helping me with the fieldwork in Jombang and Bantul. Without them, this dissertation would not have been possible.

I extend my thanks to Prof. Dr. M. Roqib, M. Ag. (Rector of UIN K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto), Dr. A. Lutfi Hamidi, M. Ag (Former rector of UIN K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto), especially, I would like to thank Dr. Naqiyah, M.Ag. (Dean of FUAH UIN K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto) for her encouragement and support, as well as Dr. Hartono, M.Si., Dr. Ida Novianti, M. Ag., Dr. Farichatul Maftuchah, M.Ag, and all the colleagues at UIN K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto. Also, I am grateful that I am surrounded by critical thinkers with whom I had several discussions, Dr. Elya Munfarida, M. Ag. And Dr. Munawwir, M.S.I.

My gratitude is also due to people at Tilburg School of Humanities and Digital Sciences, Prof. Dr. A. Backus, Prof. Dr. K. Yagmur, Maria Jose, Karin Berkhout, Erna, etc., and Grace from the International Office. I extend my gratitude to my fellow PhD students at Tilburg University, Mas Furqon, Pak Aziz, Mba Abel, Mba Wahyu, Pak Budi, Pak Bowo, Mas Advan, Yudi Liu, Lucie Chateau, etc.

I am also grateful to Mba Jamilah and Fitri for always supporting me, in particular during my difficult times. I extend my thank to Mas Afnan, Mba Zaimah, Mba Eva, Om Tony, Pak Hasyim, Mba Halimah, Mba Sofia, Bu Ade, Pak Yana, Bu Cici, Bu Hanny, Bu Aan, Pak Peter, Bu Nana, Bu Jun, Bu Entin, Bu Ade van Ierland, Bu Dewi, Mba Ati, Bu Supani, Bu Hashurah, Pak Untung, Pak Rimbo, Mas Boyan, Mba Eka, Mas Jimmy, Pak Dadang, Mba Iyut. Also, to the students at Darussalam Islamic boarding school Dukuhwaluh Purwokerto.

Further, my sincere thank goes to MORA (Ministry of Religious Affairs) 5000 doktor program for the financial support in the form of scholarship which enabled me to pursue my doctoral degree in the Netherlands. And I would also like to thank to Andy Fuller for providing me with invaluable input on English writing.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to my family. My parents, (late) Dr. K.H. Chariri Shofa, M.Ag and Dra. Hj. Umi Afifah, M.S.I, as well as my mother-in-law, Hj. Nikmatin, taught me how to keep faith. Also, thank you for their support and prayer. My heartfelt thanks to my husband, H. Imam Labib Hibaurrohman, Lc., MA. During my PhD journey, you were my best friend and partner. Thank you for your unwavering support and infinite patience, for taking care of our children, for mentioning my name in your prayer, and for helping me to pursue my dreams. I am always grateful to my wonderful sons, Syauqi and Elkayyis for their patience and love. I also owe thanks to my sisters, Hilya, Naely, Ririn, Hasna; my brothers in law, Mas Aldi, Mas Enjang, Mas Shofi, Mas Ainul, Mas Yusuf, Mas Farid, Mas Jujuk, Om Eko; and my sisters in law, Mba Umaroh, Mba Er, Mba Nung, and De Diyah.

Contents

Notes on Arabic Transliteration and Qur'anic Translation xiii
List of Figures xiv
List of Maps and Tables xv

Chapter 1
Introduction 1
1.1 Background 1
1.2 Literature Review and Research Gap 9
1.3 Research Objectives 11
1.4 Research Questions 12
1.5 Conceptual Framework 12
1.5.1 Islamic Religious Authority 13
1.5.2 Religious Women's Agency 20
1.5.3 Islamic Ritual 22
1.6 Research Methods 27
1.7 Outline 33

Chapter 2
Theoretical Framework 35
Women, Patriarchal Organization, and Ritual 35
2.1 Introduction 35
2.2 The Authority of Women in Patriarchal Movements: Between pragmatist and agency-focused argument 35
2.2.1 Pragmatist Argument: Creating space for women's authority 36
2.2.2. Agency-Focused Argument: Carving out an opportunity 37
2.2.3 Combining Two Arguments 38
2.3 Bourdieu's Concepts of Field, Capital, and Habitus 39
2.3.1 Field 39
2.3.2 Capital 40
2.3.3 Habitus 41
2.4 Modes of Acculturation 42
2.5 Gaining Authority and Exercising Agency Through Ritual Practices 43
2.4.1 Ritual Practices, Power Relationships and the Expression of Agency 43
2.4.2 The Position of Authority and Symbolic Capital 44
2.4.3 Habitus, Agency, and Ritual Practices 46
2.4.4 The Authority and Agency of Individual Agents in a Religious Field 48
2.5 Conclusion 49

Chapter 3
Female Religious Authority and Ritual in the Indonesian Context 51
3.1 Introduction 51
3.2 Religious Authority 52
3.2.1 Religious Authority until the Early Twentieth Century 52
3.2.2 Modernity and its Impact on Religious Authority 55
3.3 Ritual in Javanese Muslim Culture: Diversity and change 67
3.3.1 Javanese Islam 67
3.3.2 Javanese Muslim Rituals 69
3.4 Conclusion 80

Chapter 4
Understanding the Fields of the Patriarchal Muslim Organizations: Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama 83
4.1 Introduction 83
4.2 Muhammadiyah 84
4.2.1 The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia: An overview 84
4.2.2 The Muhammadiyah Organization: Its origin and identity 86
4.2.3 Muhammadiyah: Structure and hierarchy 90
4.2.4 Aisyiyah: The women's organization of the Muhammadiyah 91
4.2.5 Religious Authority within the Muhammadiyah Organization: Formal and informal 94
4.2.6 Muhammadiyah: Thoughts and views 98
4.3 Nahdlatul Ulama 105
4.3.1 The Traditionalist Muslim Organization in Indonesia 105
4.3.2 The Nahdlatul Ulama Organization: Its origin and identity 106
4.3.3 Nahdlatul Ulama: Structure and hierarchy 109
4.3.4 Muslimat NU: The women's organization of the Nahdlatul Ulama 111
4.3.5 Religious Authority within the NU Organization: Formal and informal 113
4.3.6 Nahdlatul Ulama: Thoughts and views 117
4.6 Conclusion 122

Chapter 5
Reciting the Qur'an in Daily Life: Habitus and Motivations 127
5.1 Introduction 127
5.2 The Recitation of the Qur'an Among the Aisyiyah Communities in Jombang and Bantul 127
5.2.1 Habitus 127
5.2.2 Motivations 133
5.3 The Recitation of the Qur'an Among the Muslimat NU Communities in Jombang and Bantul 139
5.3.1 Habitus 139
5.3.2 Motivation 143

5.4 Conclusion 149

Chapter 6
The Qur'anic Recitation Practices in the Life Cycle, Calendrical, and Occasional Rituals 151
6.1 Introduction 151
6.2 Fieldnotes 151
6.2.1 The Aisyiyah Communities 151
6.2.2 The Muslimat NU Communities 153
6.3 Public Gatherings Among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU in Jombang and Bantul 157
6.4 The Qur'anic Recitation Practices Among the Aisyiyah Communities 159
6.4.1 Life Cycle Rituals 161
6.4.2 Calendrical Rituals 170
6.4.3 Occasional Rituals 183
6.5 The Qur'anic Recitation Practices Among the Muslimat NU Communities 185
6.5.1 Life Cycle Rituals 188
6.5.2 Calendrical Rituals 199
6.5.3 Occasional Rituals 212
6.6 Conclusion 220

Chapter 7
The Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU Women: Achieving Position as a Religious Authority 223
7.1 Introduction 223
7.2 Religious Authority Agents Among the Aisyiyah Communities 224
7.2.1 Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid 224
7.2.2 Media 225
7.2.3 Local Religious Authority Figures 225
7.3 Women's Religious Authority Position in the Muhammadiyah 226
7.4 Religious Authority Agents Among the Muslimat NU Communities 227
7.4.1 LBMNU 227
7.4.2 Media 227
7.4.3 Local Religious Authority Figures 228
7.5 Women's Religious Authority Position within the NU Organization 229
7.6 The Lived Experience of Four Local Religious Authority Figures 230
7.6.1 Two *Ustazahs* from Jombang and Bantul 230
7.6.2 Two *Nyais* from Jombang and Bantul 234
7.7 The Position of Islamic Religious Authority: Some opportunities and individual agency 238
7.7.1 Muhammadiyah and the Space for Women 238
7.7.2 Advanced Islamic Education, the Awareness of Women and Some Opportunities Created by NU 240

7.7.3 The Accumulation of Symbolic Capital 241
7.7.4 The Habitus of the Field and Agent 245
7.8 Conclusion 247

Chapter 8
The Agency and Roles of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU Women 249
8.1 Introduction 249
8.2 Between Islam and Javanese Cultures 250
8.2.1 Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah 250
8.2.2 Allowed and Rejected or Allowed, Rejected, and Modified Islamic Ritual 251
8.2.3 Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida 252
8.2.4 Allowed, Modified, and Rejected 253
8.3 Ritual Practices: Individual Agency and Organizational Identity 254
8.4 Conclusion 255

Chapter 9 257
Conclusion, Discussion, and Limitation 257
9.1 Introduction 257
9.2 Conclusion 258
The Qur'anic recitation practices among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities 258
The position of religious authority of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women 259
Local culture, Islamic ritual, and bid'ah 261
The agency and role of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women 262
9.3 Discussion 264
9.3.1 Applying Bourdieu's Theory in Islamic Fields 264
9.3.2 The Dynamic Between Islam and Local Culture 266
9.3.3 Orthodoxy, Orthopraxy, and Islamic Ritual 267
9.4 Limitation 269

Bibliography 271
Glossary 309
List of Abbreviation 323

Notes on Arabic Transliteration and Qur'anic Translation

The Arabic transliteration of this dissertation follows the system developed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Indonesia, which is also the system followed in all INIS (Indonesian Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies) publications in the Indonesian language. The system is written in the book of ***A Guide to Arabic transliteration: Comparative transliteration tables and a list of selected Arabic terms related to Islamic studies*** (*seri* INIS volume XIII bilingual edition, compiled and edited by Den Heijer, J. with the collaboration of Massier, Ab., INIS, Jakarta 1992) with some modifications. Plural forms of Arabic words end with 's'. The names of people, organizations, events follow their locally spelled forms. For the Qur'anic translation, this dissertation follows M. A. S. Abdel Haleem's ***The Qur'an: A new translation*** (Oxford University Press, New York 2004).

List of Figures

Figure 1: The guests were given *berkat* to be taken home at the fourth month pregnancy event among the Aisyiyah community in Bantul (Bantul, 8th May 2018)
Figure 2: The Aisyiyah weekly pengajian at Arroudhoh mosque Jombang (Jombang, 22nd February 2018)
Figure 3: Qur'an recitation and study event among the Aisyiyah community at Sabilal Muhtadin *musalla* Kasihan sub-district Bantul regency (Bantul, 5th May 2018)
Figure 4: The Aisyiyah community surrounding al-Muttaqin *musalla* organized a *tadarus* during Ramadan (Jombang, 28th May 2018)
Figure 5: Bu Amri (an Aisyiyah *ustazah*) delivering a religious lecture among the Aisyiyah community in Jombang (Jombang, 17th August 2018)
Figure 6: Bu Munjiyah (an Aisyiyah *ustazah*) led the recitation of the Qur'an among the Ummul Mukminat community in Bantul (Bantul, 29th April 2018)
Figure 7: *Selapanan* ritual conducted by the Muslimat NU members at Tambakrejo village Jombang (Jombang, 21st February 2018)
Figure 8: The recitation of the Qur'an performed by some *ḥāfiẓahs* at the *kubroan* event organized by the Muslimat NU community in Jombang (Jombang, 25th February 2018)
Figure 9: A *berkat* given at the *nyadran* ceremony among the Muslimat NU community in Bantul consisted of yellow rice, fried egg, cucumber, chilli sauce (*sambal*), shrimp cracker (*kerupuk udang*), *kolak*, also *ketan* and *apem* (Bantul, 9th May 2018).
Figure 10: Some visitors at the grave of Gus Dur and other religious figures in the cemetery complex of Tebu Ireng (Jombang, 27th May 2018)

List of Maps and Tables

Map 1: Map of East Java province

Map 2: Map of Yogyakarta province

Table 1: Informant of the study

Table 2: Participant observation

SEKOLAH TINGGI AGAMA ISLAM

AN-NUR BANYUMAS

SIRAU – KEMRANJEN – BANYUMAS

JAWA TENGAH

https://annurbanyumas.ac.id

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Background

Muslim women and public gatherings

Public gatherings are a part of everyday life for Muslim women throughout the world. In some Muslim majority countries, these gatherings are held in private houses, women's mosques or spaces for women in mosques, and in educational institutions for women (S. Ahmad, 2013; Al-Mahmah, 1978; Cieślewska, 2016; Islam, 2012; Jaschok, 2012; Mahmood, 2005; Omar, 2013; Rausch, 2006, 2012).

In Egypt, for instance, public gatherings for Muslim women are organized by different institutions such as the University of al-Azhar, Islamic institutions, Islamic special schools, or conducted by individual preachers from different organizations (Mahmood, 2005; Minesaki, 2012). The gathering emerged for the first time in the late 1930s, initiated by a women's organization called the Society of Muslim Ladies (*Jamā'at as-Sayyidāt al-Muslimāt*).[1] In this kind of gatherings, Muslim women met in private houses or mosques and participated in religious lessons led by female preachers. This organization held religious training for women prior to the University of al-Azhar's admission of female students which only began in 1961 (Mahmood, 2005, pp. 66–67).

In Syria, Muslim women also gather for religious lessons and ritual activities in public spaces. As in Egypt, the activities are organized or held by different organizations, institutions, and individual scholars. For instance, the Abu an-Nur Islamic centre in Damascus conducts a public gathering and provides lessons in Islamic knowledge for women. Since a long time ago,[2] Qubaysiyyat sisterhood, pioneered by Munīrah al-Qubaysī, had been organizing women-only public gatherings in which religious lessons were given under the guidance of female teachers (Islam, 2012; Omar, 2013). Huda al-Habash, a mosque instructor and the founder of a Qur'anic school for girls had been holding various religious gatherings in public for Muslim women in which she taught Islamic knowledge, led prayers and chants (Ar., *żikr,* Ind., *zikir*) (Kalmbach, 2008).

In Indonesia, the emergence of Muslim women's activities and gatherings in public spaces can be traced back to the early twentieth century when K.H.A. Dahlan, the founder of

[1] *Jamā'at as-Sayyidāt al-Muslimāt* was established by Zainab al-Ghazālī (1917-2005), a prominent Egyptian female preacher (see Mahmood, 2005).

[2] There is no record for the exact date of the emergence of this movement. However, it has been growing rapidly since 1980s (see Islam, 2012).

the modernist Muhammadiyah organization, encouraged Muslim women to study Islamic knowledge. In 1914, Dahlan and his wife, Nyai[3] Walidah (1872-1946) established an informal religious study group (*pengajian*) for women in which they were taught how to recite the Qur'an and study the basic tenets of Islam. This study group then evolved into the women's branch of the Muhammadiyah organization, Aisyiyah in 1917. In the beginning, the *pengajian* was conducted at Nyai Walidah's private house until a small mosque (*musalla*) for women opened in the Kauman village Yogyakarta on 16 October 1923. After the establishment of the *musalla,* Muslim women resided surrounding the *musalla* gathered at this place for religious lessons and prayer ritual led by female preachers, mostly from the Aisyiyah organization (Suraiya, 2005; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006).

Apart from conducting public religious activities in this *musalla*, the Aisyiyah organization organizes public gatherings for Muslim women at various levels of society – from village to national scales –. The activities involve Qur'an recitation learning, Qur'an exegesis material, religious lesson, and public religious lecture (*ceramah agama*). In recent years, information regarding health or women and family issues are also discussed during the gatherings.

Public gatherings for Muslim women are also found within a *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) circle and the traditionalist Muslim community. The first public gathering for women was held in *pesantren* Denanyar Jombang established by Kyai Bisri Syansuri, one of the prominent figures of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization – the leading Muslim traditionalist group in Indonesia – in 1919. His wife, Nyai Nurkhodijah (1889-1980), invited some girls from her neighbourhood to study Islam at her house. In 1930, a *madrasah* (Islamic school which provides general and Islamic course) for female students was opened in this *pesantren*. Other major *pesantren*s in this city such as *pesantren* Seblak and *pesantren* Tambak Beras which had only admitted male students before, began to establish *pesantren* for girls and to accept female pupils in 1939 and 1949 respectively (Srimulyani, 2012). After the birth of women's branch of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization, namely Muslimat NU in 1946, regular activities and gatherings for women have been held in all its branches in Indonesia. The activities ranged from private prayers for forgiveness (*istighosah*), *ceramah agama*, Arabic lessons, the public recitation of the Qur'an, learning the art of the Qur'anic recitation (Ar., *qirā'ah*), and *zikir* ritual on different occasions such as the life cycle and calendrical rituals. Sometimes, topics related to health, women and children are also delivered in the gatherings or particular meetings (Van Doorn-Harder, 2006).

The so-called *majelis taklim* (learning assembly) for Muslim women was also established around the same time by a well-known male ulama (religious scholar) from Jakarta K.H. Abdullah Syafe'i (1910-1985) and his wife Hj. Roqayah. The term *majelis taklim* was used and popularized for the first time by K.H. Abdullah Syafe'i to address a *pengajian* group (Alawiyah, 1997, p. 91). Most of the *majelis taklim* participants were men until he and his wife established a women-only "Majelis Taklim Asy-Syafiiyah" which was then developed by their daughter Tutty Alawiyah (1942-2016), a female ulama and the former minister of State for Women's Empowerment of Indonesia. Another major women-

[3] A female religious scholar, usually the wife or daughter of a male religious scholar (Javanese, *kyai*).

only *majelis taklim* known as "Majelis Taklim Kaum Ibu Ath-Thahiriyah abbreviated as MTKIA" was also founded by Suryani Thahir (1940-2015), a female ulama from Jakarta in 1960s (Hasanah, 2016, p. 89). The activities of *majelis taklim* range from the recitation of the Qur'an, *zikir* ritual, basic Islamic knowledge learning and *ceramah agama*. The religious gatherings held by the Muslimat NU organization as mentioned earlier are also called *majelis taklim* (Van Doorn-Harder, 2006). However, as stated in the Nahdlatul Ulama website, the Muslimat NU *majelis taklim* differs from *majelis taklim* conducted by other groups. For instance, the *majelis taklim* organized by the Muslimat NU organization always start with a *zikir* performance, while *majelis taklim* held by other groups do not always begin their forum with the *zikir* performance (Husnawati & Setiawan, 2019).

From the 1990s, *majelis taklim* became visible in the national media. In 1981, Tutty Alawiyah invited 735 *majelis taklim* groups to Jakarta and initiated the foundation of Badan Kontak Majelis Taklim or BKMT (Majelis Taklim Networking Organization) as the association of *majelis taklim* of Indonesia (Hasanah, 2016, p. 91). Until now, the number of Muslim women *majelis taklim* has been increasing rapidly and occurs in various spaces such as private houses, mosques, governmental offices, or within a company (Hasanah, 2016, pp. 83–84). Based on data reported by the Directorate General of Islamic Community Guidance (*Direktorat Jenderal Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam*) from the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Indonesia as cited by Umdatul Hasanah, in 2013, there were approximately 158,960 *majelis taklim* groups with the number of members reached 4,173,870 throughout Indonesia. Most of these *majelis taklim* groups are mainly for women. It is considered as "a religious meeting for women only" or "*pengajian* for women" (Marcoes, 1992, p. 209). According to Muttaqin, "Women's *majelis taklim* groups are among the largest religious-based women's groups in Indonesia" (F. Muttaqin, 2008, p. 124).

Formal educational institutions for women were opened in Java and Sumatra around the same time, thus making it possible for Muslim women to have particular space to gather and learn advanced religious and secular lessons. Soon after the women's *musalla* was established in the Kauman village Yogyakarta, a school for girls called Diniyyah Putri School or "*Madrasah Diniyyah li al-Banāt*" was founded by Rahmah el-Yunusiyah (1900-1969), one of the famous female ulama in Padang West Sumatra. In its early days, the learning activities were conducted at one of the local mosques in Pasar Usang village. The madrasah was led by Rahmah herself, while the religious lessons were given by Rahmah and three other local female teachers (Burhanudin, 2002; Isnaini, 2016; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006). In 1933, the Muhammadiyah organization also opened an Islamic boarding school for girls called "*Madrasah Muallimat*" located in Yogyakarta (Hefner, 2016; Srimulyani, 2012; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006). The government and non-governmental organizations also established institutes and universities after Indonesia's independence, which allowed women to have spaces to gather in public.

Achieving a recognition as religious authority through Muslim women public gathering

By the mid of twentieth century, when some public spaces for Muslim women began to be established and gender segregation for religious activities developed, many women with significant Islamic knowledge were able to achieve places in public spheres and gain recognition as religious authorities that have been dominated by male religious scholars before. The development of public spaces for women within Muslim communities throughout the world in general and Indonesia in particular, and the separation of public activities between male and female indeed create an opportunity for Muslim women to form their network for the transformation of knowledge. Besides, this gender segregation became a vehicle for creating female religious authority (Afsaruddin, 1999; Bouzar, 2012; Cieślewska, 2016; Gemmeke, 2009; Ismah, 2016; Krämer & Schmidtke, 2006; Minesaki, 2012; Omar, 2013; Vanderwaeren, 2012). Not only Muslim women may gain status as religious authorities through these public gathering and activities, but they may also establish the so-called community-based authority which may challenge the authority of male scholars as argued by Ismah (2016). As religious authority agents, female scholars play major roles, in particular among their local community (Islam, 2012; Le Renard, 2012; Omar, 2013). They become essential actors as they give religious guidance, provide a recommendation, translate religious texts into local contexts and participate in shaping religious discourse. Furthermore, they are frequently consulted on Islamic issues, in particular on matters concerning women (Van Doorn-Harder 2006).

Previous scholarship indicates that female religious authorities are confined to female audiences in most Muslim communities (Kloos & Künkler, 2016, p. 488; Spielhaus, 2012, p. 451). Furthermore, these scholars argue that female religious authorities still have to struggle to be recognized as leaders in mixed-gender spaces. In some places, however, many of them can negotiate this challenge and compete with their male counterparts. Not only do they attract male and female audiences, but they are also granted authority or gain it within patriarchal communities (Mahmood, 2005; Nielsen, 2019; Omar, 2013; Shitrit, 2015). For example, most of the prominent female religious authorities start their careers as local preachers from women-only religious congregations. They can use this network to extend their position of religious authorities in a wider space (Srimulyani, 2016, p. 164). In addition, their roles have evolved from local to broader settings (Burhanudin, 2002, 2007; Hasanah, 2016; Isnaini, 2016; Massoweang, 2013; Winn, 2012). Their networks are no longer just limited to female audiences but also spread to mixed-gender audiences. Accordingly, their influence has become greater. Some of these prominent female religious authorities have been appointed as functionaries at the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Indonesia or as boards of the official *fatwa* (religious legal opinion) institutions which engage in discussing religious issues and issuing a collective *fatwa*. They are also involved in the development of various fields in national and international contexts.

For instance, Zakiah Daradjat (1929-2013), an Indonesian female ulama, was appointed as the first women leader of the central Indonesian Ulama Council (*Majelis Ulama*

Indonesia abbreviated as MUI) in 1984. At the same time, Tutty Alawiyah and Suryani Thahir were also appointed to the boards of the central MUI. Female ulama continue to have positions within the MUI until now. Apart from within the MUI, female ulama from the Aisyiyah organization have also been appointed as the Tarjih and Renewal Council (*Majelis Tarjih and Tajdid*, MTT) executives – formal fatwa institution in the Muhammadiyah organization –. Elyda Djasman and Chamamah Soeratno were the first women who sat in the MTT. The percentage of female members within the MTT has been increasing over time. Now, in the period of 2015-2020, there is about 6% of female ulama of the Aisyiyah who are selected to the MTT boards (Qibtiyah, 2018).

Several women from the Muslimat NU members were also chosen as the expert council (*dewan pakar*) of the Nahdlatul Ulama central board in the period of 2015-2020. These included Sinta Nuriyah, Mahfudhoh Ali Ubaid, Nafisah Sahal Mahfudh, Huzaemah Tahido Yanggo, Faizah Ali Sibromalisi, Ibtisyaroh, and Sri Mulyati (Fathoni, 2015b). One of them, Huzaemah Tahido Yanggo (1946-2021), was chosen as the member of the advisory board of Nahdlatul Ulama Bahtsul Masail Institution (*Lembaga Bahtsul Masail Nahdlatul Ulama*, LBMNU) – the formal fatwa institution in the Nahdlatul Ulama organization – for the period of 2015-2020 (Fathoni, 2015a). In 2022, four women were chosen as the members of this institution at the national level (Triono, 2022).

A number of female ulama are also involved in reinterpreting religious texts, discussing religious issues, and issuing collective *fatwa* concerning women (Van Doorn-Harder, 2006). For example, during the Indonesian congress of female ulama (*Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia*, KUPI)[4] held in 2017, more than a thousand representatives of female ulama throughout Indonesia joined this event. Delegations from fifteen other nations also attended the congress. Through this meeting, they were involved in issuing important *fatwa*s: these ranged from sexual violence against women, Muslim's obligation in preventing early marriage to environmental destruction (BBC news, 2017; Ispranoto, 2017; Nisa, 2019).

Exercising agency through ritual practices

Several studies indicate that different forms of agency are expressed by women through ritual practices (Berry, 2006; Boddy, 1989; Maclachlan, 2016; Mahmood, 2005; Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 1999; Primkulova, 2017; Tyagi, 2014). Through ritual practices, agentival capacities are exercised by Muslim women, in particular female religious authority agents by negotiating Islamic texts in different contexts. The main role of religious authority agents is to deliver religious knowledge and provide religious guidance. In particular, they are in charge of determining appropriate belief (orthodoxy) and religious practices (orthopraxy) as well as shaping the views and conduct of others (Krämer

[4] The first congress was held from 25-27 April 2017 at *pesantren* Kebon Jambu Al-Islami Cirebon West Java. This *pesantren* was led by a female ulama, Masriyah Amva. The organizers of this congress were non- governmental organizations (NGOs), namely Rahima, Alimat, and Fahmina. These three organizations are said to have connections with the Nahdlatul Ulama and Muslimat NU organization, although not structurally. More than 1000 female ulama from Indonesia and 15 different countries joined the event (BBC news, 2017; Ispranoto, 2017; Nisa, 2019).

& Schmidtke, 2006). Therefore, apart from teaching religious knowledge, religious authority figures also deal with various religious practices in daily life.

In Islam, rituals are performed based on God's commands informed in the Qur'an and examples practised by the Prophet Muhammad contained in the hadith. Detailed explanations are, however, not given for every ritual, which leads to divergent understandings and practices throughout the Muslim communities in different places. Sometimes, different views or tensions occurred regarding the way the ritual is practised or how additional activities beyond the requirements of Islamic texts are elaborated (Steinfels, 2010). For instance, in the case of the ritual of ablutions (Ar., *wuḍu',* Ind., *wudu*). The ritual of *wudu* is conducted based on God's command in the Qur'an *surah al-Māidah* (5) verse 6: "You who believe when you are about to pray, wash your faces and your hands up to the elbows, wipe your heads, wash your feet up to the ankles […]." Besides this verse, some Prophetic traditions also state the way in which the Prophet Muhammad performed *wudu*. Muslim scholars, in particular, four schools of laws (*mazhab*s) have different opinions about details performance of this ritual.

The Hanafi *mazhab* views that at least one-fourth of the head should be wiped while performing *wudu*. Maliki and Hanbali *mazhab*s on the other hand say that the entire head should be wiped. Unlike the other *mazhab*s, the Syafii *mazhab* states that wiping a slight portion of the head is sufficient (Az-Zuḥailī, 1985, pp. 219–222). During his fieldwork in the Gayo highlands of Sumatra, Indonesia, Bowen (1993) recorded some debates related to details of rituals of modernist and traditionalist groups of Muslims. The ritual performances disputed among them were, for instance, the spoken intention before prayer (*salat*), the number of *rakaat* (Ar., *rak'ah*, cycle of prayer) in *tarawih* prayer (a particular prayer conducted at the night of Ramadan month) and praying for deceased people through recitation of the Qur'an.

Various practices added to the canonical rituals can also be found in many places within Muslim communities. Many of these practices are derived from local practices. In her study among Moroccan people, Buitelaar (1991), for example finds that prior to the start of the month of Ramadan, Muslim women cleaned their house and went to a public bath to perform the major ritual ablution (*ghusl*) in preparation of fast (pp. 105–106). In Indonesia, before entering this month, many Muslims conduct a ritual known as *nyadran, slametan, megengan* or *pungguhan* (see chapter Three). The ritual consists of visiting the graves of ancestors (*ziarah kubur*) and praying (*berdoa*) for the deceased, sharing food with one's neighbours, conducting communal meal, reciting the Qur'an and performing *zikir* together (Aibak, 2010; Bowen, 1993; Mumfangita, 2007; Ramadhani & Abdoeh, 2020; Ridho, 2019).

Different practices of rituals as well as debates over orthopraxy have been found since the earlier days of Islam and continue to be debated amongst Muslims throughout the world. Steinfels argues this is due to several reasons:

> Public debate over ritual practice usually calls upon basic juridical principles, such as fidelity to the Prophet's example, though the motivations for taking up certain positions may be rooted in political or social agendas. The rise of various Islamic movements (modernist, reformist, fundamentalist), increased communication

> between different Muslim communities around the globe, and therefore greater awareness of regional differences in practice, have all led to a heightened concern for ritual accuracy and to the explicit use of ritual to express political, social, regional, and sectarian identities (Steinfels, 2010, p. 317)

Here, religious authority agents play an essential role in defining and determining ritual practices based on religious prescriptions. The way rituals are practiced, however, differs from one community to another and one setting to another. This diversity of ritual practice expresses the different identities of the community.

Qur'anic recitation practices amongst the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities

Indonesian Islam, since the 20th century, has been dominated by two large Muslim organizations: Muhammadiyah known as the modernist or reformist group and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) recognized as the primary traditionalist group. The Muhammadiyah was established in 1912 and is considered as the most prominent modernist group in Indonesia. The Nahdlatul Ulama organization was founded on 31st January 1926 within a *pesantren* circle where the traditional Islam's custom has been preserved. NU is regarded as the largest traditionalist organization in the country (Van Bruinessen 2013). Both Muhammadiyah and NU can be regarded as patriarchal organizations since men hold significantly more power than women. Both, however, have divisions for women, Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU, which will be discussed in detail in chapter Four.

The primary difference between these two organizations is in regards to their interpretation of ritual practices. Muhammadiyah, including Aisyiyah as modernist groups, tends to avoid ritual practices originating from Javanese culture such as *tingkeban* or fortieth day death ceremony (see further chapter Three). They regard these ceremonies as innovation – and thus a grave sin (Ar., *bid'ah,* Ind., *bid'ah*) – since they have no basis argument in the Qur'an and the Prophetic tradition (see further section Islamic ritual). A few studies, however, indicate that the practice of these ceremonies can be found among some Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah communities in Kolojonggo in Yogyakarta (Kim 1996). Based on his research, the modernist group in this village held a *kenduri*[5] at each passage of the individual's life, including pregnancy and death rituals. The local traditions related to these rituals were embedded in many reformist Muslims live in this village such as seventh month pregnancy ceremony and third and seventh day rituals after death. While practicing these customs, however, they attempted to abandon some aspects of the original rituals, kept or changed the rest elements, and gave new meanings to the rituals to make them more

[5] According to Jones, as cited by Kim, the term *kenduren* is derived from Persian language *kanduri*, meaning feast. Most people used the term *kenduren* and *slametan* for the same meaning, i.e., communal feast. Others, especially the modernist group of *santri* Javanese prefer to use the word *kenduren* or *kenduri*. The word *kenduri* is used globally, in particular by Asian people, while the word *slametan* is mostly used by Javanese society (Kim, 1996).

'Islamic'. Besides, they tried to simplify the ceremonies compared to the rituals previously practised in Javanese culture.

On the other hand, NU, including the Muslimat NU community as the traditionalist group, maintains some local customs while incorporating them into Islamic devotional acts. The famous motto of the NU organization is 'preserving the good aspects of the old and adopting the better ones of the new'[6] taken from one of the Islamic jurisprudence legal maxims (Ar., *qawā'id fiqhiyyah,* In., *kaidah fikih*). As long as the local traditions are in accordance with Islamic teachings, they should be maintained and filled with Islamic practices (Muchtar et al., 2007). In relation to local culture, this doctrine means that some aspects of established cultures should be preserved and new customs can also be sought (Siddiq, 2005, p. 69). Islamic practices such as reciting *doa*, *zikir,* giving alms (*sedekah*), and performing the Qur'an recitation are practiced by the traditionalist groups. And, recitation of the Qur'an is one of the most important practices. Particular verses or *surahs* are chosen based on some Prophetic traditions and are recited depending on the occasion. For instance, *surah Yūsūf* and *Maryam* are read during pregnancy rituals, and *surah Yāsīn* is recited related to the death rituals. Besides, the Qur'an recitation practice is done differently from one community to another.

Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities have long been practicing Qur'anic recitation. Since the establishment of the Aisyiyah organization, Qur'anic recitation has become a characteristic of this community. It has been practised almost in all Aisyiyah gatherings or events except during certain rituals which are considered as *bid'ah* by the religious authority agents. While reciting the Qur'an in these gatherings and events, most of the Aisyiyah communities do not choose particular verses or *surah*s. Instead, they read the Qur'an based on the given order of the *muṣḥaf* followed by reciting its translation in Indonesian. Some Aisyiyah communities read particular *surah*s or verses depending on the occasions they are holding. For instance, an Asiyiyah community in Tirtonirmolo village Bantul regency recited *surah Yāsīn* in one of their gatherings to send *doa* for the deceased family of one of its members (Bantul, 6th May 2018, see chapter Five).

Muslimat NU communities, like Aisyiyah communities, also practice Qur'anic recitation. The Qur'an is recited in the Muslimat NU *majelis taklim*, public gatherings, meetings, on life cycle or calendrical occurrences and in other events. They are conducted from the national level to the village level and are performed both offline and online. Sometimes, the entire Qur'an is recited. At different times, particular verses are chosen based on some Prophetic traditions.

The role of the agents of religious authorities involves determining what is a ritual, how it can be conducted, whether it is Islamic or *bid'ah* and whether or not it is permissible. Within both the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities, female religious authorities are considered important actors who offer religious guidance and determine 'correct' ritual practices (Machasin, 2010). In the local context, they play a major role since they are mostly referred to regarding religious issues faced by their communities. Nevertheless, as Van Doorn-Harder states, these local religious authority agents' roles are embedded within the

[6] *Al-muḥāfaẓah 'alā al-qadīm aṣ-ṣāliḥ wa al-akhdu bi al-jadīd al-aṣlaḥ*'.

organizational structures of the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations (Van Doorn-Harder, 2006). Therefore, in addition to dealing with Islamic texts on religious matters, particularly in the local context, they have to consider the decisions made by the organizations on the same issues. Here, female religious authorities of Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU may exercise and show different kinds of agency.

1.2 Literature Review and Research Gap

Several studies of female religious authority have been written in various academic disciplines such as history, anthropology, education, sociology (Burhanudin, 2002; Dessing, 2012; Gemmeke, 2009; Hammer & Spielhaus, 2013; Hammer, 2012; Husin, 2014; Indriati, 2014; H. Jannah, 2019; Kalmbach, 2008; Khodafi, 2015; Kloos & Künkler, 2016; Maskuroh, 2016; Razak & Mundzir, 2019; Srimulyani, 2012). Many of these studies give attention to the way in which Muslim women achieve their position as female religious authority. First, through their agency by actively seeking training, teaching, preaching, leading ritual and interpreting or reinterpreting religious texts (Husin, 2014; H. Jannah, 2019; Jaschok, 2012; Kloos, 2016; Künkler & Fazaeli, 2012; Razak & Mundzir, 2019; Srimulyani, 2012; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006). Second, by the invitation of male religious authority (Jaschok, 2012).

Another way for Muslim women to gain a position as religious authority is through the involvement of state or non-governmental institutions. For example, in contemporary Egyptian society, to gain authority, individuals or groups are often endorsed and supervised by al-Azhar as the official educational system. Al-Azhar institution certifies those who deliver Islamic knowledge in mosques, *madrasah*s, and other public spaces (Minesaki, 2012). In Turkey and Morocco, women are trained and certified by the state to teach, preach and deliver religious guidance (El Haitami, 2012; Hassan, 2012; Rausch, 2012). Al-Huda in Pakistan and Al-Qubaysiyyat in Syria are among the institutions which organize religious lessons and train women to be agents of religious authority (S. Ahmad, 2013; Islam, 2012; Omar, 2013). In Indonesia, Rahima is one of the NGOs which offers religious training and establish "Female Ulama Cadre Program" to prepare women as the juristic authority who are qualified in issuing a *fatwa* (Ismah, 2016). Besides Rahima, Islamic institutions like *pesantren* and madrasah, and universities such as Islamic State Institution/University (*Institut Agama Islam Negeri*/IAIN or *Universitas Islam Negeri*/UIN) provide training for Muslim women to become religious teachers, preachers, and Muslim scholars (C. M. Hefner, 2016; R. W. Hefner, 2009; Husin, 2014; Roviana, 2014; Smith, 2014; Srimulyani, 2012; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006).

Other studies have focused on the role of these female religious authorities in a variety of fields. For instance, these studies have focused on their role in interpreting, or reinterpreting religious texts (Hammer, 2012; Künkler & Fazaeli, 2012; Minesaki, 2012; Nisa, 2019; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006; Vanderwaeren, 2012), in offering religious lessons and guidance or leading religious rituals by being state functionaries, teachers, preachers, mosque instructors, Sufi and Islamic institutions leaders (Ahmad, 2013; Birchok, 2016; Bouzar, 2012; Burhanudin, 2002; Cieślewska, 2016; Hassan, 2012; Helmiannoor, 2019;

Husin, 2014; Indriati, 2014; Ismah, 2016; Isnaini, 2016; A. Jannah, 2019; Jaschok, 2012; Khodafi, 2015; Kloos, 2016; Le Renard, 2012; Maskuroh, 2016; Minesaki, 2012; Omar, 2013; Rausch, 2012; Razak & Mundzir, 2019; Spielhaus, 2012; Zainuddin, 2017).

Little attention has been paid to the way in which these Muslim women gain their position as religious authorities, exercise agency, and play their role within a patriarchal religious organization. Patriarchy is defined as "male domination, to the power relationships by which men dominate women, and to characterise a system whereby women are kept subordinate in a number of ways" (Bhasin, 2006, p. 3). A patriarchal organization is an organization in which men hold more power and authority and in which women are excluded from accessing positions of authority. Within a patriarchal organization, men dominate and women depend on and subordinate to men. They lack access to resources in decision making within the organization (Sultana, p. 7). Therefore, I rather concentrate on these issues by exploring how women of the Muhammadiyah and NU achieve their position as religious authorities within these patriarchal organizations. Furthermore, by focusing on their role in defining "Islamic ritual" and negotiating Islamic texts within the local contexts during the Qur'an recitation practices in the life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals as the central perspective. By placing the study of female religious authority in this context, I attempt to contribute to an ongoing scholarly discussion regarding the way these women gain positions of authority in a religious sphere. Through this I explore the agency and role of these female religious authorities.

I have chosen to study among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities because Aisyiyah is the most prominent modernist Muslim women's organization in Indonesia (Muhammadiyah, 2019). Likewise, Muslimat NU is the largest traditionalist Muslim women organization in the country (F. Ahmad, 2015). Both are the women's branches of male dominated organizations: Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Another reason is female religious authority from the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU organizations play major roles within their communities by giving religious guidance, developing religious discourse, and leading or shaping ritual practices.

The focus of this study, as explained earlier, is the recitation of the Qur'an practices among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities in the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals. The Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities have long-practiced Qur'anic recitation in diverse ways. The 'purification' idea promoted by the Muhammadiyah organization influences the practice of the Qur'anic recitation within the Aisyiyah community. Many of the Aisyiyah communities tend to avoid the Qur'an recitation performance in the life cycle, calendrical, or occasional Javanese rituals such as seventh month of pregnancy and fortieth day of death ceremonies. On the other hand, the idea of traditional Islam promoted by the NU organization is expressed by the Muslimat NU community through these practices. The aim of the NU organization to preserve indigenous customs while inserting Islamic values is displayed in the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals. The recitation of the Qur'an is one of the most important practices in these events.

In recent years, when the Muhammadiyah organization, as the umbrella organization of Aisyiyah, made an important shift from upholding a puritan method to

adopting a cultural approach (*dakwah kultural*), some Aisyiyah communities became more involved in the promotion of imbuing Islamic values to local traditions while maintaining the core idea of 'purification'. For instance, through changing local rituals into Islamic traditions by rejecting 'non-Islamic' elements and adding Islamic practices such as reciting the Qur'an. Hence, local female religious authority figures have an essential role in determining ritual practices whether they are considered 'Islamic' or 'non-Islamic', and in shaping or modifying the ritual practices. Although the Muslimat NU communities have a similar idea of maintaining local traditions, the practice of the tradition in the local contexts may vary. Thus, its local religious authority agents also play significant roles in deciding how a ritual is conducted.

The study regarding the Qur'an recitation practices among the Aisyiyah and Musimat NU communities during the life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals provide interesting case studies. The way religious authority figures in these communities exercise their agency and play important roles within the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations through shaping the Qur'an recitation practices are underdeveloped. Most studies regarding the recitation of the Qur'an focus on the meaning of the text (Sardar, 2011; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006; Wadud, 1999); the motivation of the Qur'an recitation practices and the musical aspect of the recitation (Gade, 2004; Nelson, 2001; A. K. Rasmussen, 2010; Rurin, 2019); the benefit or the method of reciting the Qur'an (Al-Husharī, n.d.; As-Sajelmasi, 2014; Ernst, 2011). Moreover, most of the studies concerning the Qur'an recitation practices in ritual occasions do not focus on women of religious organization community and the role of the religious authority figures in shaping the practices (Junaedi, 2015; Rafiq, 2014; Sudarmoko, 2016). Until now, I have not been able to find anything published on the Qur'an recitation practices within the context of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities during the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals, and the role of female religious authority figures in shaping the practices.

1.3 Research Objectives

As mentioned in the previous section, the Qur'anic recitation practices during the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals within the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities are an important phenomenon. They are utilized by both organizations' communities to form a network for religious knowledge transformation, gain position of religious authority and exercise their agency. Secondly, they are used to express their identity as the modernist or traditionalist group and to support the idea of their umbrella organizations, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Nevertheless, little attention has been paid to investigate this phenomenon.

Therefore, this study aims to explain the way the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities gain their position as religious authorities, exercise their agency, and play important roles within Muhammadiyah and NU as the patriarchal organizations through the Qur'anic recitation practices during the life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals.

1.4 Research Questions

The overarching question addressed by this study is: How do the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women gain their position as religious authorities, exercise their agency, and play important roles within two patriarchal religious organizations - Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama - through the Qur'an recitation practices during life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals? To explore this question, six sub-questions will be addressed throughout this dissertation:

- First, how Qur'anic recitation practiced during the life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals within the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities?
- Second, what is the position of women as religious authorities within the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations?
- Third, what is the lived experience of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women, and how does their lived experiences relate to their success in achieving position as religious authorities?
- Fourth, what is the attitude of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU religious authorities toward local cultures and how do these attitudes relate to their understanding of Islamic ritual and the Qur'an recitation practices?
- Fifth, how do women exercise agency through these rituals and what kinds of agency do they exhibit?
- Sixth, how do female religious authority figures play a role in the patriarchal organizations through these rituals?

1.5 Conceptual Framework

Some important issues can be drawn from the previous sections. First, some of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU members may achieve positions as religious authorities. During my fieldwork, the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities told me that they refer to these female religious figures (they call these figures *ustazah* or bu *nyai.* See chapter Three) within their organizations for religious issues. Moreover, these figures were considered as religious authorities by their local communities. In what way do they become religious authorities? Who are considered as religious authorities in Islam?

Second, as explained earlier, the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU members, in particular the religious authority agents exercise their agency through the Qur'an recitation practices by negotiating Islamic texts and the organization's decisions in the local contexts. In addition, through these rituals they play important roles in supporting and expressing the identity of modernist and traditionalist Islam as promoted by their organizations, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. This phenomenon raised numerous questions: such as why do these women choose to support patriarchy? How do they exercise agency within these patriarchal organizations? What kind of agency do they exhibit? Question about the agency of women who support patriarchy is central to social scientific analysis. Many scholars attempt to question the agency of these women. For instance, as Mahmood has argued, "why would such a large number of women across the Muslim world actively support a movement that

seems inimical to their own interests and agendas?" (Mahmood, 2005, p. 2) or in the words of Ozorak "why do women disproportionately invest in an institution what systematically devalues them?" (Ozorak, 1996, p. 17).

Third, determining orthodoxy and orthopraxy, in particular deciding 'Islamic' ritual practice is among the essential roles of religious authority agents. Likewise, the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU authority figures negotiate these issues. Why are rituals, in particular the Qur'anic recitation, practiced variously from one community to another? What makes up an Islamic ritual? What is considered as orthodoxy and orthopraxy in Islam? How do the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU religious authority figures make sense of religious texts and religious decision made by their organizations in the local contexts?

I argue that integrating three concepts (Islamic religious authority, religious women's agency, and Islamic ritual) and engaging in scholarship debates on these issues helps to answer the above questions and relate this study to a broader context. Therefore, my goal in this research is not only to provide an ethnographic account of female religious authorities and the Qur'an recitation practices. But, it also makes the material speak to some concepts in Islamic religious authority, religious women's agency, as well as Islamic ritual.

1.5.1 Islamic Religious Authority

The Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women in this study are recognised as (female) religious authorities. Who is regarded as a religious authority in Islam? How do these female religious figures achieve recognition as Islamic religious authority? To answer these questions, we need to elaborate on the idea of Islamic religious authority. It is also important to understand the concept of authority and religious authority in general beforehand. Weber's notion on authority is important for many scholars attempting to develop the concept of religious authority and Islamic religious authority (Bierstedt, 1973; Campbell & Teusner, 2011; Campbell, 2007; Gaborieau, 2010; Hjarvard, 2016; Kalmbach, 2008; Krämer & Schmidtke, 2006; Turner, 2007; Zulkifli, 2013).

Therefore, following Weber's definition, I consider authority as "the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons." (Weber, 1978, p. 53). For some scholars, this definition implies that authority is exercised by whom is in the position of leadership over a group of people and linked to the notion of obedience and acceptance of commands based on legitimacy or other forms of consent. The definition proposed by Weber excludes "coercive power" in which a person or group of people carry out their will even against the resistance of others. In addition, it is also different from "influence" in which the consent is derived from persuasion or argument (Bartholomew, 1981; Coleman, 1997; Weber, 1978). Arendt makes a similar distinction between authority and power or persuasion (1961, p. 93). In her opinion, the concept of authority eliminated coercive power and persuasion. Arendt argues when power is used, or persuasion is needed, then authority has failed. For Arendt, authority is what makes people obey without having to be persuaded or using power (Abou El Fadl, 1963, p. 19). Besides Weber and Arendt, Friedman (1990, pp. 67–69) also states that if someone can examine

information before accepting or obeying what he or she is asked or believed then the authority has collapsed.

On the other hand, after analysing Weber's concepts of power and authority, Uphoff (1989) says that Weber considers authority as a special kind of power. According to Weber, both power and authority are explained in terms of probability which makes the qualifications of power should be applied to authority as well. Thus, Uphoff argues that authority according to Weber should be framed as "the probability that a command with a specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons, despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which that probability rests" (pp. 300-301). According to him, the bases of obedience can vary, ranging from normative to coercive (Uphoff, 1989, p. 301). This analysis is in line with the opinions of some thinkers who view that authority can still exist, although coercive power or persuasion is used. Abou el-Fadl (1963), for example, uses the term coercive authority and persuasive authority to differentiate between those who occupy some status or position (called to be 'in authority') and those whose views are believed by others (known to be 'an authority'). In Abou el-Fadl's opinion, some officials 'in authority' are obeyed because they have power. Also, the state of being 'an authority' does not always contradict with giving persuasive arguments (Abou El Fadl, 1963, p. 21). Krämer and Schmidtke also point out that authority and power are not always easy to distinguish, particularly in the present time (Krämer & Schmidtke, 2006). Like Abou el-Fadl, Krämer and Schmidtke, McBride regards that as long as there is a consensus that an authority agent directs action, using coercive power or persuasion does not affect his or her authority (McBride, 2016).

The concept of religious authority is different from the secular concept of authority in which the legitimization of religious authority is specifically "linked to divine source" (Campbell, 2007, p. 1046) or "by calling on some supernatural references" (Chaves, 1994, p. 756). Chaves argues that this supernatural referent "need not be activist in the sense that gods, spirit with personalities inhabit another, unseen, realm […] to say this another way, religious authority structures are distinguished by the fact that their claims are legitimated at least by a language of supernatural". This supernatural language is recognized for instance, through the word "God-talk" as used by the religious authority structures within the U.S. society (Chaves, 1994, p. 756). In line with this notion, according to Gaborieau (2010), unlike the concept of authority in general, the command given by religious authority is based on God's will. It is "the right to impose rules which are deemed to be in consonance with the will of God" (p. 1). The idea of religious authority can refer to individuals, groups of people, or institutions. It is the willingness to obey the command given by these individuals, groups of people, or institutions with certain qualities and/or qualification which make their religious authority effective (Krämer & Schmidtke, 2006, p. 2).

In Islam, religious authority belongs to God, meaning God is the only sovereign who has the right to frame rules (Gaborieau, 2010, p. 1). The Qur'an, which is believed to be the indisputable and most authoritative source of how to live by Muslims, indicates this fact.[7]

[7] Some Qur'anic verses mentioned about this matter. For instance, 'Do you [Prophet] not know that control of the heavens and earth belongs solely to God? He punishes whomever He will and forgives whomever He will: God has

God, however, has the right to select human agents to act on His behalf and relay his commands. He elected the Prophet Muhammad to convey his command through revelation in which Muslims are obliged to follow (Abou El Fadl, 1963; Al-Atawneh, 2014; Gaborieau, 2010; Mouline, 2014). After the Prophet's death, the authority to deliver and interpret God's command was been passed on to those who have knowledge of Islam (Kalmbach, 2012). Instead of revelation, God's commands and Islamic knowledge is derived from one of three different ways. First, through political power. Before the emergence of a particular group of religious authority known as ulama,[8] in the past, caliphs (Ar. *khalīfah*)[9] claimed the position of religious authority in Islam through political power (Abou El Fadl, 1963, p. 27; Mouline, 2014, p. 4).

Second, through the exoteric (*ẓāhirī*) way. Those who master religious knowledge and have the ability to interpret religious texts hold authority. They are known by the name of 'ulama' (Ephrat & Hatina, 2014; Gaborieau, 2010; Hunwick, 2013; Mouline, 2014). In the period of the Umayyad Caliphate (661-750), some Muslims were trained and emerged as a particular group of scholars. Then, in the period of the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258), this group had developed and known as ulama among Muslim society. The term ulama was mostly used to refer to hadith scholars and legal specialists. During the first centuries of Islam, the term ulama was also used to refer to other experts such as historians, linguists, and others. From the second half of the ninth century**,** however, this term has been used to identify a special socio-religious group that managed, promoted and conveyed religious knowledge. For Abou el-Fadl, the term ulama is particularly used for jurists or legal scholars as far as Islamic law is concerned (1963, p. 31).

In order to become an ulama, one must pass through various layers of education and training. In the past, requirements to become an ulama involved, for instance, mastering more than one area of Islamic knowledge and having a good character and piety. In some places, the most famous ulama were known by having links with Sufism and being decent of senior ulama. An individual effort, however, such as recognition by his peers, was important (Marín, 2010, p. 680). Education and training to become an ulama usually conducted from an early age. Their family members, in particular parents who were also ulama, taught them basic

---

power over everything' (5:40); 'Do you think that you will be left untested without God identifying which of you will strive for His cause and take no supporters apart from God, His Messenger, and other believers? God is fully aware of all your actions' (9:16), 'And Your Lord is God, who created the heavens and earth in six Days, then established Himself on the throne; He makes the night cover the day in swift pursuit; He created the sun, moon, and stars to be subservient to His command; all creation and command belong to Him. Exalted be God, Lord of all the worlds' (7:54). Besides these verses, other verses have described God's sovereignty using different kinds of terms. For example, using the word as *sulṭān* (authoritative proof), *quwwah* (power), *amr* (commandment), *ḥukm* (judgment, decision), *mulk* (sovereignty, possession, power), and *qahr* (domination). See (Abou El Fadl, 1963, p. 25; Mouline, 2014, p. 4).

[8] Plural of *'alīm* meaning scholar, more precisely "scholar versed in the religious sciences" such as Islamic jurisprudence (Ar., *fiqh*, Ind., *fikih*), the Prophetic tradition (Ar., *ḥadīth,* Ind, hadith), Qur'anic exegesis or commentary of the Qur'an (Ar., *tafsīr,* Ind., *tafsir*) and theology (Ar., *kalām,* Ind., *kalam*). see (Sourdel, 2007).

[9] Meaning successor of Muḥammad and then leader of the community known as *amīr al-mu'minīn* (commander of the faithful). Later the term *imam* was used for the temporal and spiritual master of the Muslim empire that became fragmented with the advent of the Abbasid. From the tenth century, the caliph retained only his religious prestige, delegating his other functions to *amīrs* or *sulṭāns* (Sourdel, 2007).

Islamic knowledge. Then, they travelled to hear from senior ulama from different places. Until the fourth/tenth or fifth/eleventh century, most of the transformation of Islamic knowledge processes were done non-formally between students and teachers. The students obtained authorization (Ar., *ijāzah,* Ind., *ijazah*) from their teachers which was given personally rather than institutionally (Graham, 1977, p. 511; Marín, 2010, p. 686). After modern Islamic institutions such as *madrasah* were founded around the tenth or eleventh century in Khurasan[10] and flourished throughout the Islamic worlds, the educational and training process became more formal (Zaman, 2010). In recent times, formal training is conducted in *madrasahs*, Islamic universities, and institutions (Dessing, 2012; Gilliat-Ray, 2006; Minesaki, 2012). However, the non-formal teaching and certification system continue until now.

The group of ulama is in charge of determining appropriate belief (orthodoxy) and religious practices (orthopraxy) within Muslim society. Ulama's authority can be regarded as the traditional type of authority in Weberian terms[11] since the form of this authority is tied to Islamic traditions and is legitimized by an uninterrupted chain of transmission (*sanad*). On the other hand, the authority of ulama is considered as charismatic authority which is legitimized by people's trust in their charisma, in particular, from societal recognition of their piety, and Islamic knowledge they acquired from Islamic educational institutions such as *madrasah*s, or from mosques learning circle (Mouline, 2014; Taji-Farouki, 2004, p. 13).

Third, the status of authority in Islam may be derived through esoteric way (*bāṭinī*). Those who get the authority through this way are usually called Sufis (mystical leaders) or *auliyā'* (plural of *walīy*)[12]. While ulama receive their religious knowledge through education, Sufis acquire their religious knowledge – mostly known as *ma'rifah* – through mystical experiences such as dreams or illuminations (Ephrat & Hatina, 2014; Gaborieau, 2010; Hunwick, 2013; Kalmbach, 2012). The way the Sufis gain their knowledge through mystical experiences make their religious knowledge is said to be less connected to Islamic texts. Their religious practices, however, are also taken from the Qur'an and other Islamic legal texts (Ephrat & Hatina, 2014; Kalmbach, 2012).

In many Islamic societies, becoming a religious authority depends on a person's ability to interpret Islamic texts and issue legal Islamic decisions. Nevertheless, according to Ephrat and Hatina (2014),

---

[10] A territory comprising north-eastern Iran, southern Turkmenistan and northern Afghanistan in the present day.

[11] There are three types of 'pure' authority according to Weber. The first type of authority, legal authority derives its legitimacy from rational action. Obedience is given to the legally established impersonal order in this type. The principle of hierarchy is followed in this type, meaning the higher office has the higher authority. The second type of authority, traditional authority derives its legitimacy from long established traditions within society or from traditional actions. The obedience is given to those who occupy the position of the leader by tradition. The commands of the leaders are legitimized by the traditions which determine the content of the command, or by the discretion of the leader which is given by the tradition. In this type of authority, there is no rationally established hierarchy. The last type of authority, charismatic authority gains its legitimacy from affectual action. Exceptional personal abilities which inspire others are usually the source of the legitimacy in this type of authority. The obedience is given to charismatic persons because of people's trust in their claim. It does not consist of 'officials' and there is no hierarchy in this type of authority. The leader merely gives guidance for the task performed by the staff of his members (Weber, 1978, pp. 215–241).

[12] A man close to God or a holy man (in the popular religion of Islam) (Wehr, 1976, p. 1100).

> Religious authority in Islam was not necessarily the product of knowledge embedded in texts and acquired in formal or informal structures. Religious leadership also emerged from other sources: piety, spiritual insight, morality, asceticism, social altruism, leadership skills, courage, dissidence, political activism, and even martyrdom as a response to a threatening or corrupt environment (p. 3).

In the twentieth century, when Muslim society experiences modernization, the position of individual religious authority, in particular, ulama are started to be challenged and contested (Burhanudin, 2010; Jinan, 2013; Kalmbach, 2012; Kaptein, 2004; Machasin, 2010; Taji-Farouki, 2004; Volpi & Turner, 2007; Zulkifli, 2013). Although there has never been a single source of authority in Islam since the earlier days**,** modernization makes this pluralization more complex. The development of mass communication technologies such as printing press, radio, and TV, allows people to refer directly to the Islamic sources or to access alternative opinions regarding religious issues (Eickelman & Anderson, 1997; Taji-Farouki, 2004; Turner, 2007; Zaman, 2002)**.** This, according to Taji-Farouki, makes the exclusive right of the ulama as religious authority become weak (Taji-Farouki, 2004, p. 14)**.**

The three groups above are often considered the "traditional religious authority". New media has had a significant impact on religious authority. New media makes the authority of ulama become publicly revealed as their claims, teachings, and symbols have been represented in a globalized religious sphere. Besides this effect, new media also establishes 'new religious intellectuals' – those without formal training in Islamic knowledge – who speak for Islam. This new media helps religious figures who build their authority through popularity. The effect of internet as the new media is far greater than the previous media and "weighs even more heavily in favour of preachers and clerics who rely on 'media authority'" (Nielsen,2019). Therefore, the fragmentation of religious authority has been continuing, and the authority turns into a constructed and negotiated thing (Abou El Fadl, 2005; Bunt, 2003; Burhanudin & Baedowi, 2003; Campbell & Teusner, 2011; Eickelman & Anderson, 1997; Hoover, 2016; Jinan, 2013; Taji-Farouki, 2004; Zaman, 2002)**.**

On the one hand, this new media makes it possible for ulama as the traditional religious authority figures to engage with discourses beyond their local audience. The new media also makes it possible for the audiences to access religious advice from scholars in other parts of the world (Hoover, 2016; Kalmbach, 2012; Mandaville, 2007). In this case, the audiences are also given power in claiming the authority of the religious figures (Hoover, 2016)**.** On the other hand, new media, by creating a new Muslim intellectual group, has challenged the authority of established ulama. This is because the authority of both ulama and the new religious intellectuals becomes relativized, which means they are seen as equal to each other (Hoover, 2016, p. 31). Abou el-Fadl regards this fact as the period of the crisis of authority in Islam (Abou El Fadl, 2005, pp. 36–37).

In addition to the above mentioned changes, modernity has also enabled the expansion of the establishment of religious authorities. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, some official religious institutions such as ministries of religious affairs have been established in different Muslim countries (Brown, 2017). Some Islamic authority centres also play major roles within many Muslim countries. These include the al-Azhar mosque and

University network, Saudi Salafism, Deoband Madrasah network, and Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı (Bano et al., 2017).

Official fatwa organizations in which collective religious decisions are made by a group of ulama instead of individual *ijtihad*[13] have been developed within Muslim societies. Some of these fatwa bodies are state sponsored ulama council such as Egypt's fatwa council (*Dār al-Iftā' al-Miṣriyyah)* established in 1895*;* the council of Islamic ideology in Pakistan established in 1962; the Permanent Committee for Scholarly Research and Ifta (*al-Lajnah ad-Dāimah li al-Buḥūṡ al-'Ilmiyyah wa al-Ifta`*) founded in Saudi Arabia in 1971; and the MUI founded in Indonesia in 1975. Others are non-governmental fatwa bodies such as the European Council for Fatwa and Research (*al-Majlis al-Urubba li al-Ifta' wa al-Buḥūṡ*) founded in 1997 by the federation of Islamic organizations in Europe; the Tarjih and Renewal Council (*Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid,* MTT) established in 1971 by the Muhammadiyah organization; LBMNU formed in 1990 by the Nahdlatul Ulama organization (Al-Atawneh, 2014; S. Anwar, 2005; Ka'bah, 1999, pp. 137–139; Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama, 2015; Zahro, 2004, p. 68)**.**

From the explanation above, the expression of Islamic religious authority in this research refers to either individual ulama, Sufi, "new Muslim intellectual", or official religious institutions, official fatwa organizations and Islamic authority centres. The former is considered as "unofficial Islam" or "informal religious authority", while the latter is regarded as "official Islam" or "formal religious authority". Although the essential role of "official Islam" or "formal religious authority" within Muslim societies cannot be denied, they are often challenged by "unofficial Islam" or "informal religious authority" (Brown, 2017; Krämer & Schmidtke, 2006; Machasin, 2010). According to Nielsen, in relation to the obedience of command in the concept of authority, the authorities of "official Islam" may not actually be very authoritative if they have little influence over how lay Muslims choose to practice their faith. On the other hand, those who have no official position can be more authoritative if they have greater influence (Nielsen, 2019).

The authority of women in religious spheres

Krämer points out that "the ulama who hold the authority in Islam are men and always have been"(Krämer & Schmidtke, 2006, p. 6). They have generally occupied the roles of religious authority in the Muslim world, although women are not forbidden from gaining this status (Kloos & Künkler, 2016). Historically, women did have strong roles as religious authorities. They spoke for Islam as teachers, preachers, or interpreters of Islamic texts. In the early days of Islam, female companions participated in religious knowledge transmission with their male counterparts (Kalmbach, 2012; Nadwi, 2007; Sayeed, 2013). Some scholars such as Muslim historian Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571/1176) mentioned that there were approximately fifty women companions and successors who had participated actively in transmitting hadith. Another historian and hadith expert, Aż-Żahabī (d. 748/1348) stated that there were around

[13] Ar., *ijtihād* meaning the process of making Islamic legal decisions or independent reasoning of Islamic law.

thirty-five women who narrated hadith in the first two centuries (Aż-Żahabī, 2006; Ibn ʻAsākir, 1995; Sayeed, 2013). Among these women, ʻĀ'isyah bint Abī Bakr, the Prophet's wife, was one of the most prominent transmitters – both within male and female transmitters. [14] Not only female family members of the Prophet and companions frequently referred to ʻĀ'isyah on religious issues, but also male companions often consulted her on a range of issues.

The number of women transmitters, however, decreased in the two and half centuries after the revelation of the Qur'an. At that time, some people used and fabricated hadiths for political, theological and other interests.[15] Consequently, the criteria for accepting hadith became more stringent. Muslim women at this time had a limited access to education. Thus, they lacked in some resources and could not meet the demand. In the later periods, women re-emerged as religious authorities within their society (Sayeed, 2013; Taḥḥān, 2004). During the Mamluk period, for instance, many of them participated in religious education and became female religious teachers (*syaikhah*). Their activities as female hadith transmitters were recorded in some biographical dictionaries. An overview from Amīnah Muhammad Jamāluddin in her book *An-Nisā' al-Muḥaddiṡāt Fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Modern Women in the Mamluk Era) also illustrates the point. Amīnah Muhammad Jamāluddin compiled 234 women transmitters from the seventh and eighth centuries mentioned in three different sources, *al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʻyān al-Miʻah al-Ṡāminah* (The Pearls Hidden in the Eight Hundred Notables) and *Mu'jam Maryam* (The Dictionary of Maryam) of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), and Ibn al-ʻImad al-Ḥanbali's (d. 1090/1679) *Syażrāt aż-Żahab fī Akhbār min Żahab* (Gold Nuggets in the News of Gold). She concludes that many prominent hadith experts such as Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, aż-Żahabi , and historians such as al-Maqrizī (d. 845/1442) and Ibn Khallīkan (d. 680/1282) were the students of these women transmitters and learned Islamic knowledge from them (Jamaluddin, 2003).

Like male ulama, in the past, the educational and training process of the female ulama started within the family environment. As Marín (2010) states, "it was not unusual for women to be taught to read and write by their fathers, brothers, husbands and occasionally women were even introduced to more specialised branches of knowledge" (p. 511). Many of them then received advanced learning in Islamic knowledge from great teachers in private houses, mosques, *madrasah*s. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the role of women as religious authorities has continued to expand. According to Kalmbach (2012), the reason behind this is the shift in the roles and activities of women, particularly within Muslim society. Many women with significant knowledge are able to gain places in public spheres that have been dominated by male scholars. For instance, some women in North America

[14] ʻĀ'isyah bint Abī Bakr is in the fourth place among the transmitters of hadith in general with 2210 hadith after Abū Hurairah with 5374 hadith, ʻAbdullah ibn ʻUmar with 2630 hadith, and Anas ibn Mālik 2286 hadith (Hoda, 2019).

[15] Some causes of fabricated hadiths are for example apostates (it was done by non-believers who converted to Islam to cover their true intention); political differences (for instance, the fabrication was done by the supporters of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Mủāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān in favour of their leaders), earn a living (it was done by storytellers by telling amazing false stories and fabricating hadith to make their story more convincing); ignorant ascetics (it was done by some people to attract others doing good deeds) (At-Tahhān, 2010, pp. 113–114).

achieved a position as prominent Muslim scholars (Hammer, 2012). A number of women in Africa gained their esoteric knowledge and exercise authority as prominent Sufi figures (Bruzzi & Zeleke, 2015; Gemmeke, 2009).

Another reason is that there are several states which have given women the opportunity to become preachers, religious teachers, or members of the fatwa council by providing them with education and training. In Damascus, for example, female religious authority is accepted and recognized within the modern Syrian context (Kalmbach, 2008). In Morocco, women preachers known as *mursyidah* were institutionalized, trained, and certified by the state. The government of Morocco offered an annual ulama training program. The program was conducted approximately fifteen weeks in which the participants were taught Islamic subjects such as the Qur'an and the Prophetic tradition, Islamic law, and Arabic language. They were also specifically trained in the Qur'an recitation technique and the preaching method. At the end of the program, the participants took a final examination to be certified as ulama or *mursyidah* (El Haitami, 2012; Rausch, 2012). Turkey appointed a few women as religious preachers under the Directorate of Religious Affairs of Turkey and held official religious positions; and nearly one-third of the official preachers were women (Hassan, 2012). The United Arab Emirates has also sanctioned women as official religious scholars (*mufti*) and has given them the opportunity to provide *fatwa* not only for women but for society in general (Elass, 2009). Following other states, Saudi women were also invited to become official female mufti (Arab News, 2021).

Within a global context, women play noteworthy roles at a local level as religious teachers or preachers in Islamic institutions, mosques, and virtual spaces like TV and the Internet websites. They are recognized as Islamic institution founders who are able to influence religious teachings and learnings (Ahmad, 2013; Islam, 2012; Isnaini, 2016; Omar, 2013; Razak & Mundzir, 2019). In Egypt, as Saba Mahmood describes, some female scholars had an important role in Islamic revival, in particular among women society through religious lectures they gave in mosques (Mahmood, 2005). Women in the Hui community China led female rituals by opening women-only mosques (Jaschok, 2012). Some female preachers in Saudi and so-called female i-Imams in Spain reached their audiences and extended their role as the religious authorities by giving guidance and promote religious knowledge through internet websites (Carvalho, 2018; Le Renard, 2012).

1.5.2 Religious Women's Agency

The concept of women's agency allows us to consider how Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities negotiate the apparently patriarchal organizations beliefs and practices of Islam. Agency is understood as "the capacity of individuals to act independently and make their own free choices within the structures that limit or influence the opportunities individuals have" (cf. Laan, 2016, p. 34). Agency is often associated with autonomy and freedom which may lead to the assumption that women will attempt to free themselves and resist from gender oppression when conditions permit as Mahmood states (Mahmood, 2005, p. 8). Nevertheless, according to some gender and religion scholars, characteristics such as autonomy, freedom

and resistance do not always correspond to women who follow a particular religion (Avishai, 2008; Burke, 2012; Mahmood, 2005; Rinaldo, 2014; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006). Therefore, in understanding religious women's agency, they propose four different approaches.

The first approach is known as the resistance or non-compliance approach. Some research on religious women demonstrates that these women do not adhere to their religious teaching blindly. Many of them challenge religious beliefs or practices by attempting to change some aspects of their religion or reinterpreting religious prescriptions. For instance, research conducted by Arthur (1998) among a Holdeman Mennonite community finds how women within this church community attempted to resist the strict dress code, which was believed to be a form of religiosity. Ahmadi (2006) reveals how Muslim feminist in Iran attempted to reformulate Islamic concepts by reinterpreting religious texts and challenge the interpretation which had long been given by the male authority.

The second approach is known as the empowerment approach. This approach views that religious women are empowered by their religion. Women use religious beliefs and practices to empower themselves in daily life. For example, a study conducted by Read and Bartkowski (2000) among Muslim women in Austin, Texas, concludes that many of the veiled women felt that wearing *hijab* gave them advantages such as feeling secure and "free" which empowered them in the face of western hegemony. In her research within Muslim women in Africa, Salime (2008) finds that Islamic doctrine has been a source of empowerment for these women in facing the globalization's impact in various fields.

The third approach is that of instrumental agency. This approach focuses on how devout women use religion to achieve non-religious advantages or to further extra-religious ends in different fields such as economic, education and politics. For instance, research conducted by Read and Bartkowski (2000) shows that for Muslim women in Austin, wearing a veil did not only empower them within western culture, but it also gave them an advantage in pursuing education within mixed-gender communities. Other authors such as Muttaqin (2008) and Winn (2012) have given examples how non-religious benefits can be achieved through doing religion such as how Indonesian Muslim women did not only intend to seek religious knowledge and maintain their piety in participating religious gatherings or activities, but they wanted to have a good network and foster bonding with other Muslim societies.

The fourth approach is that of religious agency. Instead of challenging religious institutions, struggling for empowerment or looking for extra-religious ends, religious women can express agency through docility. They choose to exhibit their agency through a way in which it is in accordance with their religious teachings and for religious purposes as Avishai states: "women may participate in conservative religions in a quest for religious ends […] religion may be done in the pursuit of religious goals" (Avishai, 2008, pp. 412–413). For example, instead of showing resistance and gaining empowerment in front of western culture or seeking for extra-religious ends, Bilge (2010) says that many veiled women argue for religious reasons in their choice. In her opinion, it shows that the agency of these veiled women is "not driven by a desire to resist social structure, but by a desire to submit to God" (p. 21). Van Doorn-Harder's study about Muslim women preachers in Indonesia who attempt

to re-read Islamic text indicates that they do not intend extra-religious ends. Instead, this act comes from their deep commitment to Islam. These Muslim women preachers attempt to apply these readings to translate Islam in their daily life and desire to live within the frame of Islamic teachings (Van Doorn-Harder, 2006). This explanation gives insight that religious women, Muslim women, in particular, may express agency in different ways, ranging from resistance, empowerment, instrumental or religious.

1.5.3 Islamic Ritual

Islam as a discursive tradition and the role of religious authority

There are at least four important interrelated dimensions in approaching religion as pointed out by Nina ter Laan (2016). First, her approach views religion, as "a separate intellectual system, beliefs, values, and world views, consisting of narratives, histories, and symbols […] the second dimension looks at religion as a social-political system […] the third dimension looks at religion as a social-cultural practice involving activities like visiting holy places, […] conducting rituals, […] and the last dimension regards religion as a sensory experience (Laan, 2016, pp. 4–5). This dissertation will contribute to the third dimension of the study of religion by focusing on ritual practices from the perspective of the anthropology of Islam.

As Asad argues "if one wants to write an anthropology of Islam, one should begin, as Muslims do, from the concept of a discursive tradition that includes and relates itself to the founding texts of the Qur'an and the Hadith." In his view, Islam is a tradition, and the proper concept for the anthropology of Islam is a discursive tradition. He further explains:

> A tradition consists essentially of discourses that seek to instruct practitioners regarding the correct form and purpose of a given practice that, precisely because it is established, has a history. These discourses relate conceptually to a past (when the practice was instituted, and from which the knowledge of its point and proper performance has been transmitted) and a future (how the point of that practice can best be secured in the short or long term, or why it should be modified or abandoned), through a present (how it is linked to other practices, institutions, and social conditions). An Islamic discursive tradition is simply a tradition of Muslim discourse that addresses itself to conceptions of the Islamic past and future, with reference to a particular Islamic practice in the present. Clearly, not everything Muslims say and do belongs to an Islamic discursive tradition. Nor is an Islamic tradition in this sense necessarily imitative of what was done in the past (Asad, 2009, p. 20).

This notion of discursive tradition proposed by Talal Asad attempts to make a bridge between orthodoxy and orthopraxy through the way in which religious authority agents teach, define, and make an argument about correct practice. Asad states that "a practice is Islamic because it is authorized by the discursive traditions of Islam, and is so taught to Muslims –whether by an *alim*, a *khatib*, a *Sufi syaikh*, or an untutored parent–" (Asad, 2009, p. 21; S. Tayob, 2017, p. 20).

As religious communities expand, Islam interacts with many cultural groups which are quite different from the one in which the religion originated. Therefore, the religious ideology or prescription is often elaborated, reinterpreted, and then reproduced (Bell, 1997; Eickelman, 2014). During the elaboration, interpretation, and reproduction process, many scholars take into consideration local customs and understandings. As Bell (1997, p. 195) points out, "there is often de-emphasizing of orthopraxic ritual customs in favour of more cross-culturally manageable orthodoxic beliefs", sometimes, the legal opinion or interpretation produced by Muslim scholars is also changed according to the requirements of different places and times. Woodward regards the interaction of received Islam and local customs as local Islam, in which rituals and texts are developed within a specific local context (Woodward, 1988, pp. 87–88). This fact is in line with Asad's notion that Islam as a discursive tradition, means "Islam is constantly being reshaped to fit an ever changing world" (Lukens-bull, 1999, p. 19). Although the adjustment has been made by Muslim scholars, they try to maintain both orthodoxy and orthopraxy. Bell argues that:

> Islam maintained a central and important tension between an Arabic revelation for an Arabic-speaking people, which is a tendency toward orthopraxy further evidenced in the development of Islamic law, and a universal mission to convert all people, which is a tendency toward orthodoxy further evidenced in the importance of personal submission to a radical monotheism (Bell, 1997, p. 195).

Some instances of these changes can be found throughout the history of Islamic tradition. One of the companions of the Prophet, ʿumar ibn al-Khaṭṭab, for example, often conducted *ijtihad* to reinterpret Islamic tenets. In particular, the *ijtihad* and reinterpretation were performed when there was no explicit guidance in the Qur'an and hadith. He did so when he thought that the law based on the text of the Qur'an and hadith was no longer suitable for the contemporary circumstances. Thus, his opinion and its implementation through religious practice was different from what had been said or performed during the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Another example can be found from the history of one of four *mazhab* scholars, Imam as-Shafi'i. He changed some of his *fatwa*s which were issued when he was in Iraq known as the old view (*qaul qadīm*) to the new *fatwa* (*qaul jadīd*) when he moved to Egypt (Hosen, 2007, pp. 42–43). Hence, how Islamic teachings, as prescribed in the Qur'an and hadith are interpreted, are related to how Islam is locally understood. Who interprets the texts is also important as many Muslims do not have access to the texts and depend their understanding on local religious authority agents, or get information from different sources (Manger, 2013).

Rahman in Woodward notes that the tradition of Islam is far from monolithic. What some consider to be normative, others may view as heterodoxy (Woodward, 1988, 2011, p. 40). Asad's notion of orthodoxy is important in this context. For him,

> Orthodoxy is not merely a set of doctrines but a distinctive relationship between power and truth […] Wherever Muslims have the power to regulate, uphold, require, or adjust correct practices, and to condemn, exclude, undermine, or replace incorrect ones, there is the domain of orthodoxy. The way these powers are exercised, the

> conditions that make them possible (social, political, economic, etc.), and the resistances they encounter (from Muslims and non-Muslims) are equally the concern of an anthropology of Islam, regardless of whether its direct object of research is in the city or in the countryside, in the present or in the past […] traditions should not be regarded as essentially homogenous […] heterogeneity in Muslim practices is not necessarily an indication of the absence of an Islamic tradition. The variety of traditional Muslim practices in different times, places, and populations indicate the different Islamic reasoning that different social and historical conditions can or cannot sustain (Asad, 2009, pp. 21–23).

Ritual in Islam

According to Graham (2010, p. 94), "there is no exact equivalent for ritual in Muslim Arabic usage […] the closest Muslim approximation of ritual is perhaps '*ibādah* (pl, '*ibādāt,* Ind., *ibadah*), which means either a particular act of worship and service or worship and service of God in general". Similar to Graham's idea, Denny (1985, p. 69) also uses the term '*ibādah* to explain Islamic ritual which means "worship, service of inferiors toward their superiors, their Lord" (p. 69). In his book *Al-'ibādah fī al-Islām,* Yusuf al-Qaradāwī (1995, pp. 27–28) defines the term *ibadah* as a submission, obedience and devoutness to God (pp. 27-28). This definition indicates that *ibadah* can refer to the whole appropriate devotional practices performed by Muslim as a form of obedience to God. Nevertheless, it is mostly used specifically to designate the Muslim jurisprudence to which belong the major ritual and religious obligations of Muslim (Graham, 2010, p. 94).

Although it is not easy to classify Islamic ritual as practised by Muslims, Graham attempts to divide it into three categorizations. First, formal rites which encompass major ritual duties such as *ṭahārah* (purity), *ṣalāt* (Ind., *salat*) (prayer), *ṣaum* Ramadan (Ramadan fasting), *ḥajj* (Ind., *haji,* pilgrimage) and rites de passage such as *'aqīqah* (haircutting sacrifice), *khitān* (Ind., *khitan* or *sunat*) or *khafd* (male circumcision/female circumcision), *nikāh* (Ind., *nikah*) or *'urs* (marriage), *janāzah* (Ind., *jenazah*) (funeral). Second, ritualized devotional practices consist of *qirā'ah* (Ind., *kiraah*) or *tilawah* (Qur'an recitation); *żikr* (Ind., *zikir*) and *sama*' (chanting); *ziyārah* (Ind., *ziarah*, visiting graves of saints, shrines or imams); invocations such as *tasmiyyah* (reading *bismillāhirraḥmānirraḥīm* meaning in the name of God, most gracious, most merciful). Third, periodic celebrations consisting of *al-īdain* (two festivals of the day of sacrifice during the time of *ḥajj* known as *'īd al-Aḍḥā* (Ind., *Idul Adha*) and the breaking of Ramadan fast called *īd al-Fiṭr* (Ind., *Idul Fitri*)); *mawlid* Nabi (the celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday); *lailat mi'rāj* (Ascension of the Prophet), *mawlids* of saints, *majālis* of Shi'i Imams; 10 Muharram; *Lailat al-Qadr* (the night of revelation); and other festivals (Graham, 2010, pp. 94–95).

As Steinfels (2010, p. 309) has noted, Islamic rituals are legal rather than sociological. Therefore, in Islam, ritual practices are performed based on religious doctrines and prescriptions, which Muslims consider as authoritative. These doctrines are taught and interpreted by religious authority agents. The interpretations and decisions, however, made by the religious authority agents may vary. Consequently, the ritual practices in various contexts are performed in different ways. The different opinion in interpreting religious

doctrines and prescriptions is known as *ikhtilāf*. The phenomenon of *ikhtilāf* among Muslim scholars has been found since the time of the Prophet Muhammad and is widely recognized in Islamic tradition. Furthermore, since the development of Islamic jurisprudence, *ikhtilāf* not only existed among the Muslim jurists, but it was also respected and became one of the characteristics of Islamic jurisprudence (Masud, 2009).

The *ikhtilāf* occurs due to one or more of these reasons: first, a different understanding of the texts of the Qur'an and hadith as the most important sources in Islamic tradition. Here, the disagreement is usually caused by the differences in terms of language usage or the existence of multi-interpretable texts of the Qur'an and hadith. Second, differences arise owing to different criteria being utilized by the scholars in accepting or rejecting hadith. Some scholars regard that several hadiths are acceptable (*maqbūl*) and can be used as the source of Islamic teaching and jurisprudence, while others view that the same hadiths are rejected (*mardūd*) and should not be employed as the source of Islamic jurisprudence. Furthermore, limited knowledge of some scholars on particular hadiths also supports this *ikhtilāf.* Third, differences occur because of different methods implemented by the Muslim jurists in making legal decisions. Fourth, the disputes happen as a result of disagreement in what is not explicitly stated in the Qur'an or hadith. Besides these factors, different places and times they live is also another reason for the disagreement among the jurists as the Qur'an and hadith do not address every circumstance people have to deal with (Khafif, n.d.; Lukens-bull, 1999; Masud, 2009).

André Möller (2005) argues that Islamic ritual practices are heterogeneous. Thus, it is a mistake to think that normative Islamic rituals are performed unvaryingly and uniformly around the world. Möller shows how ritual practices are performed by Muslims differently from one group to another. *Tarawih* prayer, for instance, is practised by the traditionalists and modernist Muslim group in Indonesia in a different way. Many ritual behaviours are also conducted in various ways, such as the supplication, the pronouncement of the prayer's intention, the way men and women are segregated in the mosques, and others. Hutson (2004) also reveals how some changes in Islamic ritual practices occur from time to time. For instance, among the Sufi women community in Northern Nigeria, in the past, during a so-called *zikri* ritual, more than a thousand words of supplication were recited, and a particular dance was performed. The ritual practices, however, were changed in 1919 when the Tijaniyyah Sufi group leader issued a *fatwa* regarding the *zikri* ritual. Afterward, the ritual was conducted without rhythmic chanting and dancing.

"Allowed", "modified" and "rejected" ritual practice

As discussed in the previous section, diversity in Islamic ritual practices is present throughout Islamic history. The obligation of *'ibādah* as prescribed in the Islamic texts is transformed into ritual practices by Muslims in various social and cultural contexts. While performing these rituals, they attempt to negotiate between religious text and different contexts, then decide which ritual practice can be accepted, modified, or abandoned. During the negotiation, a dispute regarding the elaboration or innovation of ritual practices that have no precedent in

the Prophet's time and his companions always occurred. This innovation is usually called *bid'ah*. There are at least two groups of Muslim scholars with different opinions regarding this issue, they are known as *muḍayyiqīn* and *muwassi'īn* (Al-'Afraj, 2009; Jahroni, 2018; Rachmadani, 2020). The first group, *muḍayyiqīn* argues that *bid'ah* includes all religious matters which had not been done at the time of the prophet Muhammad and his companions. In their opinion, these religious matters should be rejected based on a hadith narrated by al-Bukhārī and Muslim ibn al- Ḥajjāj "If somebody innovates something which is not present in our religion (of Islamic Monotheism), then that thing will be rejected." (Al-Bukhārī, 1997; Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, 2007).

The second group, *muwassi'īn* states that not all new matters in religion should be rejected. As long as these religious matters do not contradict religious principles, they can be accepted. They base their argument on a hadith narrated by Muslim ibn al- Ḥajjāj:

> Whoever sets a good precedent in Islam will have the reward for that and the reward of those who do it after him, without that detracting from their reward in the slightest. And whoever sets a bad precedent in Islam will bear the burden of sin for that, and the burden of those who do it after him, without that detracting from their burden in the slightest (Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, 2007, bk. zakat hadith number 1017).

They believe that the prohibition only includes ritual practices which are considered as problematic innovation (*bid'ah sayyi'ah)*, while positive innovation (*bid'ah ḥasanah*) in ritual practices is permissible. Among scholars who favour this idea is the prominent Shafi'i scholar 'Izzuddin ibn Abd as-Salām (1262 CE). He even goes further by categorizing *bid'ah* in general into five kinds depending on whether or not the practice contradicts the Islamic texts, judiciary consensus, or the precedent of the companions (Jahroni, 2018, p. 8). They are *bid'ah wājibah* (obligatory innovation), *bid'ah muḥarramah* (prohibited innovation), *bid'ah mandūbah* (recommended innovation)*, bid'ah makrūhah* (reprehensible innovation)*,* and *bid'ah mubāḥah* (permissible innovation). For instance, he categorizes every good conduct which had not been practised before as *bid'ah mandūbah* (Ibn Abd as-Salām, 1991, pp. 204–205 vol. 2).

Within Muslim communities in Indonesia, two different opinions regarding *bid'ah* in ritual practice occur. The first group indicates there are only two categories of ritual practice, "allowed" and "rejected". A ritual practice that has a precedent in the time of the Prophet and his companions is allowed. On the other hand, the ritual that had not been practised by the Prophet and his companions is rejected. Unlike the first group, the second group attempts to negotiate between "allowed" and "rejected" ritual practice. For them, a ritual practice that has a precedent in the time of the Prophet and his companions is allowed, and ritual practice that contradicts with Islamic teachings is rejected. Meanwhile, the ritual that had not been practiced by the Prophet and his companions but does not contrast to Islamic tenets is "modified" to be in accordance with Islam and considered as *bid'ah ḥasanah*. For instance, they attempt to modify some "rejected local rituals" and filling them with "allowed Islamic practices". We can find the implementation of this categorization

(allowed, modified, and rejected ritual practice) in this research done by the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU religious authority figures.

1.6 Research Methods

Doing ethnography

As mentioned above, this study aims to explain the way the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities gain religious authority, exercise their agency, and express their identity as modernist or traditionalist organizations through Qur'anic recitation practices. To capture these phenomena, long association and extended participation are needed. Therefore, I chose an ethnographic approach to gather the data. This approach allowed me to gain insights and access knowledge directly from both communities, explore the complexity and nuances of their behaviour and interaction with the context, and observe the dynamics that occurred within the communities.

Fieldwork setting and period

The fieldwork for this study was conducted in two regencies in Java: Jombang East Java and Bantul the special region of Yogyakarta.[16] I chose both places for several reasons. First, East Java in general and Jombang, in particular, is known to be a strong base of the Nahdlatul Ulama and Muslimat NU organizations. It is a space where a significant number of NU *pesantren*s and institutions are located. In this area, the traditions of traditionalist Islam have flourished until now. However, modernist groups like Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah have also been developing well in this place. The Muhammadiyah organization existed here two years before the Nahdlatul Ulama organization was born. Around 1964-1965, some wives of the Muhammadiyah prominent figures held a *pengajian* in the sub-district of Jombang. This *pengajian* then developed into the regional Aisyiyah organization. The setting where I conducted my fieldwork among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities was situated around this sub-district.

Likewise, Yogyakarta is the birthplace of the Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah organizations. The majority of the Yogyakarta inhabitants are the adherents of one of the two organizations. Boarding schools, institutions and universities belonging to Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah are in many places in Yogyakarta. One of the greatest universities belonging to Muhammadiyah was built in the regency of Bantul. In Yogyakarta generally and Bantul particularly, the traditions of modernist Islam have been established until recent time. Just like in other places in Indonesia, the Aisyiyah community in Yogyakarta carries out a *pengajian*. However, only a few communities perform a specific activity in the Qur'an recitation. Therefore, I was recommended by Ummi Misma, one of the Aisyiyah central

[16] The Republic of Indonesia is divided into 34 provinces (*propinsi*). Each province consists of regencies or districts *(kabupaten*) and municipality or cities (*kota*). Each *kabupaten* or *kota* is further divided into sub-districts (*kecamatan*), and each *kecamatan* consists of villages (*kelurahan/desa*).

executives, to do my fieldwork in the regency of Bantul, particularly in the Kasihan sub-district where some communities specifically held the activities of the Qur'an recitation. On the other hand, the NU and Muslimat NU branches also established in this regency. Some famous *pesantren*s and institutions belonging to NU and Muslimat NU are in the regency of Bantul, particularly in the sub-district of Sewon. In this area, the customs of traditional Islam are maintained by the adherents of the NU including Muslimat NU. Therefore, I mostly concentrated my fieldwork within the Muslimat NU community in this sub-district.

Second, Jombang is located close to Trowulan (the centre of Majapahit rule, which was the final point of Hindu-Buddhist power in Java). On the eastern side, the position of the Jombang regency is adjacent to the Mojokerto regency which has an ethnic, cultural area called *arek*. The northern side is adjacent to the Lamongan regency with the assimilation between East Java and North coast ethnics. The west and south sides are adjacent to the Nganjuk and Kediri regencies, respectively influenced with Central-Java traditions. The south-eastern part borders the regency of Malang with South-East Java coastal ethnics. The traditions of Jombang inhabitants are influenced by the cultural diversity of the surrounding areas.

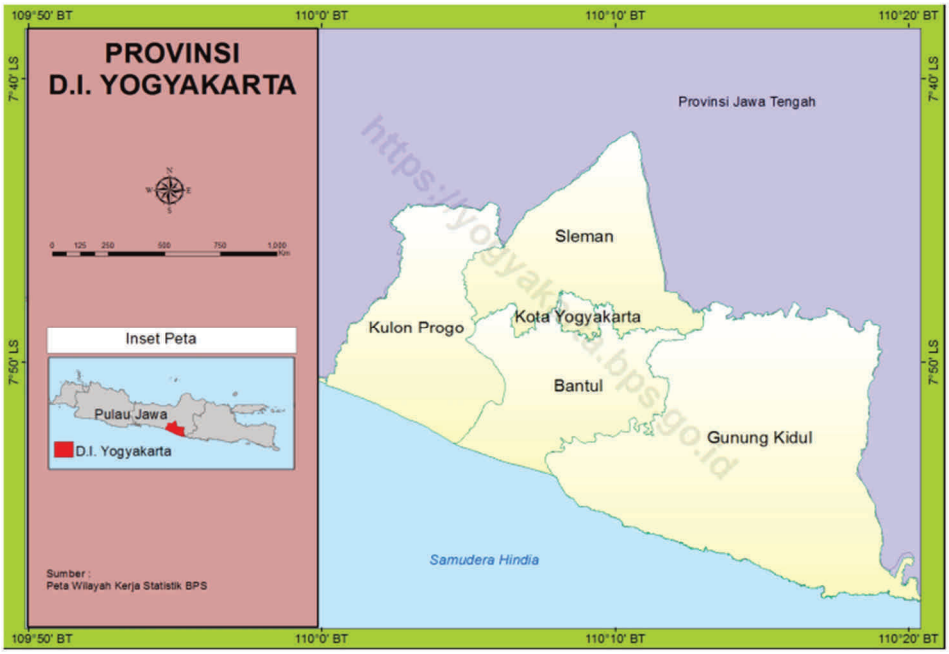
Map 1: Map of East Java province



Source: jatim.bps.go.id (2021)

Bantul is a regency situated in the south of the province of Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. The northern boundaries of this regency are the City of Yogyakarta and the regency of Sleman; the Gunungkidul regency is on the eastern side, the Kulonprogo regency is on the western side and the Indonesian Ocean on the southern side. Yogyakarta was the centre of an ancient Hindu-Buddhist kingdom known as Mataram (*Mataram kuno*) and the continuation of Islamic empire of Mataram (Ningsih, 2021b, 2021a). It is the last remaining sultanate in the Republic of Indonesia. Yogyakarta is an old city which is known as representing the heart of Javanese culture. Various cultures meet, mix, and are expressed in the daily life of the Yogyakarta inhabitants. It is said that rituals and religious practices of the Yogyakarta people are influenced by Hinduism, Buddhist, and mostly Islamic traditions. Some cultural sites of the kingdom are located in or close to the area of Bantul. Javanese traditions are practised and respected by the Yogyakarta including Bantul people. For these reasons, we can examine the role of local religious authority figures in negotiating Islamic teachings through the Qur'an recitation practices during the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals within such given contexts.

Map 2: Map of Yogyakarta province



Source: yogyakarta.bps.go.id (2021)

My fieldwork was divided into two periods. The first period was conducted from February 2018 to September 2018, and the second period was done from December 2018 to February 2019. During the first period of my fieldwork, I stayed approximately three months in Jombang, three months in Bantul, and ten days in each regency during Ramadan month (around May-June 2018). I largely concentrated on the Qur'anic recitation practices during the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals within the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul. In addition, I focused on the activities and narratives of four female religious authority figures from the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU in both cities related to the Qur'anic recitation practices in those rituals. The larger part of this period of fieldwork consisted of participating life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals within both communities as much as I could, interviewing female religious authority figures, members and sympathizers belong to both organizations, the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU representatives, and MTT and LBMNU representatives in both regencies. During the second period of my fieldwork, I went back and forth from Jombang to Bantul to continue conducting interviews and joining some events. On top of this, I also participated MTT regular *pengajian* in Kauman mosque Yogyakarta, in which Aisyiyah members joined and sought religious guidance from formal religious authority institution and followed Munas Alim Ulama Nahdlatul Ulama in West Java in which Muslimat NU representatives joined the national LBMNU forum. From February 2019, while further analysing my fieldwork data and writing my dissertation, I conducted additional online interviews to validate the accuracy of the information I had obtained earlier.

Data collection

Before conducting fieldwork, I openly stated my intentions and position as a researcher to both the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities and other informants involved in this research. The informants provided consent by filling in a form I gave. During my fieldwork, I used various qualitative research methods to gather data. First, I conducted semi-structured and in-depth interviews with four different groups of informants from the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities as well as from formal fatwa institution representatives:

Table 1 Informant

Organization	Position/Sex	Location	Number
Aisyiyah	Religious authority figure (F)	Jombang	1
	Religious authority figure (F)	Bantul	1
Aisyiyah	Board representative (F)	Jombang	1
	Board representative (F)	Bantul	1
MTT	Board representative (M)	Jombang	1
	Board representative (F)	Bantul	1
Aisyiyah	Member and sympathizer (F)	Jombang	10
	Member and sympathizer (F)	Bantul	10
Muslimat NU	Religious authority figure (F)	Jombang	1

	Religious authority figure (F)	Bantul	1
Muslimat NU	Board representative (F)	Jombang	1
	Board representative (F)	Bantul	1
LBMNU	Board representative (M)	Jombang	1
	Board representative (M)	Bantul	1
Muslimat NU	Member	Jombang	10
	Member	Bantul	10
Total			**52**

The interviewees above were selected according to the purpose of the data. In addition to the semi-structured and in-depth interviews, I also acquired much of the data through informal interviews with the female religious authority figures and the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities in some rituals I participated. I relied on audio recording during the interview and produced transcription afterward. Besides, I made some field notes to provide additional information that may not be evident in the recordings and made use of photography if the interlocutors gave permission. In this research, I use fictional names of the members or sympathizers. As for the female religious authority figures, the representatives of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU, and the representatives of MTT and LBMNU, I use their real names. Informants gave me explicit permission to do so.

Apart from interviews, I also used participant observation for collecting my data. Through participatory observation, I was able to explicitly observe and consider everything about the details that occur within given situations (Spradley, 1980, p. 55), gain information regarding the diverse practices of the Qur'an recitation in different events, understand the experiences of the communities and the role of the female religious authority figures within the communities, gain rapport with the communities, and know the context better. It was also useful to evaluate the process of the research, triangulate earlier findings, and strengthen interpretation of information gathered through interview. Between February 2018 and February 2019, I attended various kinds of life cycle, calendrical, or occasional rituals organized by the local Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU or held by the members of both organizations.

Table 2 participant observation

Event	**Location**
Selapanan during baby naming ceremony when the child is thirty five days old	Jombang
Kubroan	Jombang
Thursday Qur'an recitation and study program	Jombang
Ziarah kubur	Jombang
Yasinan and *tahlilan*	Jombang
Khatmul Qur'an	Jombang
Tadarus program during the Ramadan month	Jombang
Monday Qur'an recitation and study program	Bantul

Fourth month pregnancy and marriage feast	Bantul
Nyadran	Bantul
Sima'an al-Qur'an during Sunday *pengajian*	Bantul
Tadarus program during the Ramadan month	Bantul
Nuzulul Qur'an	Bantul

During the observations, I made some notes on the events while immersed in the setting, took photographs, and had small talk with the participants.

In addition to the interviews and participant observation, the process of data collection also involved reviewing some literature about the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama organizations including the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU organizations, MTT and LBMNU decisions and *fatwa*, women's agency, religious authority, the Qur'an recitation practices, Javanese rituals, theoretical framework, and other additional data to support this study. I started by searching for relevant literature both on online databases such as google scholar and web of science or offline databases such as documents and books available in the Nahdlatul Ulama executive board (Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama, PBNU) library and the Suara Muhammadiyyah office.

Data analysis

According to Spradley, data analysis refers to "the systematic examination of something to determine its parts, the relationship among parts, and their relationship to the whole. Analysis is a search for patterns" (Spradley, 1980, p. 85). Just as Wardani (2020, p. 87) found out that the process of analysing data in ethnographic research was a fluid process which needed to be done during the fieldwork period and writing process, I also learned this fact. During my fieldwork, while searching for pattern, research purposes and topic were often adjusted based on what turned out to be relevant matters in the field. I entered the field with open focus on women and ritual practices. After spending long period in the field and gathering information, it became clear that the purpose of this research is to study how Muslim women gain authority, exercise their agency, and express their identity through ritual practices.

The analysis process involved repeated listening to the recordings, reading transcripts, and gathered all notes and documents collected to get sense of what they contained. To analyse and interpret empirical material, I used an approach of qualitative data collection and analysis based on grounded theory which builds theory rather than verifying or applying theory. This was applied by discovering structures and patterns through open coding and constant comparison of the empirical material. I tried to look for meaning in every single phrase, and by using different colours of marker, units of meaning are labelled. I wrote these units of meanings on the right side of the transcribed documents. Afterwards, I searched for possible groups of coding and made a list of all the codes before reading the whole text again. Once the data had been coded, categories were then made. Following this, I looked for the relationship between all the categories, found dominant patterns and linked them with the research questions of the study. These patterns could be indicated as data saturation and form

the basis for developing theories (Henning et al., 2004; Laan, 2016; Wardani, 2020). However, I have not entirely followed the process of grounded theory analysis. Further data was added through theoretical sampling based on the emerging theoretical concepts. In building theory, both inductive and deductive process were used (Stausberg & Engler, 2011).

1.7 Outline

This dissertation consists of nine chapters. The first chapter includes the background of the study, previous studies and focus of this study, research objectives and questions, conceptual frameworks, and research methods. The second chapter presents the theoretical framework of this study. The third chapter provides an overview of religious authority in Indonesia. I do this to give an insight into the broader contexts of how individual agents gain positions as religious authorities in Indonesia. This chapter also provides an outline of Javanese Muslim rituals. Doing so helps to explain how Javanese rituals are practiced, as well as how various Muslims groups have different attitudes toward these rituals.

Chapter Four describes two large patriarchal organizations, the Muhammadiyah and NU, in which the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities have emerged from. In addition, this chapter portrays the women branch of the organizations, the structures and hierarchies of the organizations, the formal religious authority institutions within the organizations, and the thoughts and views of the organizations related to several issues such as the positions and roles of women, religious understanding in the fields of theology, jurisprudence, ethic, as well as local cultures and Islamic ritual.

Chapter Five introduces the Qur'an recitation practices among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities in daily life, in relation to their habitus and motivations. Chapter Six describes Qur'anic recitation in the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities. Chapter Seven explains the way women of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU achieve recognition as religious authorities within the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama organizations. Chapter Eight discusses how women of the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama exercise their agency and play important roles within the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama organizations through the Qur'an recitation practices in the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals.

The last chapter contains the conclusion, discussion, and possibilities for further research. It discusses the main findings of this study related to the main research question by highlighting the position of religious authority of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women as well as their agency and roles within Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama organization. The last part of this dissertation reflects on the theoretical perspective used in this research and discusses some possibilities for further research and theoretical exploration.


22 Juli 2024
Pemateri :
Ning Farah Nuril Izza, Lc., M.A., Ph.D.
Takhrij
HADIST
Untuk Santri Takhassus
Moderator :
Syifa Nurul Wahidah
20.30 WIB
Pendopo
Dr. K. H. Chariri Shofa, M. Ag.


PONDOK PESANTREN
DARUSSALAM
DARUSSALAM tv
Usth. FARAH NURUL IZZA, Lc., M.A.
KISAH NABI MUSA DAN NABI KHIDIR

Chapter 2
Theoretical Framework
Women, Patriarchal Organization, and Ritual

2.1 Introduction

In the introductory chapter, I have described the main research question of this dissertation: How do the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities gain their position as religious authorities, exercise their agency, and play important roles within Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama as the patriarchal religious organizations through the Qur'an recitation practices during the life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals? Based on this question, there are three interlinked inquiries in this research. The first puzzle is the position of authority that women achieve within patriarchal movements. Another inquiry is the agency exercised and the role played by these women in the patriarchal organizations. The last inquiry concerns the Qur'an recitation practices in the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals as an arena for these women to gain their position as religious authorities, exercise their agency and play roles within the patriarchal organizations.

In order to understand these issues, we need a conceptual model that addresses the relationship between women as individual agents, the patriarchal organization as structure, and ritual practices. In this chapter, I will lay out such a theoretical framework. First, I will explore two arguments related to the way women gain position in patriarchal movements from pragmatist and agency-based perspectives, followed by the notion that combines both models. Secondly, I will explore the concepts of field, capital, and habitus, which are relevant for analysing this dissertation. Third, I will elaborate the concept of acculturation to help me analyse various strategies used by women of this study in negotiating Islam and local tradition. I then discuss the way women gain position as authority, exercise agency, and play important roles in patriarchal movements through ritual practices.

2.2 The Authority of Women in Patriarchal Movements: Between pragmatist and agency-focused argument

Some of the relevant literature indicates that three arguments are associated with the authority of women in a patriarchal movement. The first of these arguments is the pragmatist or top-down model in which the source of the authority of these women is given by the movement or organization. The second theory is the agency-focused argument or the bottom-up model in which women use their agency to gain a position of authority. And, the third is a combination between the top-down and bottom-up arguments.

2.2.1 Pragmatist Argument: Creating space for women's authority

This theory suggests that patriarchal movements give women authority when they benefit from providing this position. In this model, patriarchal movements usually slot women in positions suitable for them within the organizations. This pragmatic model is found, for instance, within political organizations since they give authority to women for electoral advantage. As Nielsen (2019) states, parties and political organizations tend to empower women when they achieve electoral benefit. A study conducted by el-Ghobashy (2005) shows this phenomenon. The transformation of *Jamā'ah Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* (the Society of Muslim Brothers) organization in Egypt from a religious movement to a political party made this movement an attempt to reconsider some important issues, including women's rightful authority. El-Ghobashy states that the *Ikhwān* "have devoted much space in their arguments on women's citizenship rights to refuting obstinate views and reinterpreting Qur'anic injunctions that specify men's tutelage over women, especially Quran 4:34. Their statement argues that the verse applies to household relations only and does not extend to the workplace or public affairs" (p. 382). According to el-Ghobashy, this reinterpretation is associated with the organization's utilitarian electoral credo, as a spokesperson of the movement says, "limiting the Muslim woman's right to participate in elections weakens the winning chances of Islamist candidates" (p. 382).

Another example is drawn by Gerner (2007) from her study about the participation of Palestinian women in political activities. She argues that Palestinian women were given opportunities in the political field to support the agenda of the state. Furthermore, citing from Hegland, Gerner also points out that "women are central to the Islamic agenda […] at the same time, some Islamists attempt to control women's activities so that they will fulfil only the roles designed for them" (p. 19). Nielsen considers the reason for giving women authority here as pure pragmatism (Nielsen, 2019, p. 54).

Besides gaining electoral benefit, a few religious organizations give women leadership status for different reasons, such as developments and gender norms change among society. Traditionally, within a patriarchal religious movement, women mostly play complementary roles. They are often given 'feminine' tasks in sex-segregated spaces, such as piety promotion among other women or appointed caregiving and social duties (Shitrit, 2015; Watling, 2002). Here, women are usually in subordinated positions within the patriarchal movements. However, when developments occur, and gender norms change, movements sometimes allow women to gain authority for pragmatic considerations. For example, an ethnographic study conducted by Watling (2002) indicates that liberal reformed churches in the Netherlands enable women to access positions of authority in accordance with current developments. He states that "women are becoming more officially accepted and influential, evidenced by the fact that the Re-Reformed female pastor was specifically chosen because the church believed a woman would bring new and different ideas. They are viewed as modern, dynamic, and inclusive" (p. 529).

Some religious organizations attempt to moderate their views on gender by giving women authority status. Iannaccone and Miles (1990) find that in order to maintain old

members who prefer the patriarchal status quo, and to seek new members who choose organizations that are not overly patriarchal, Mormon churches gave women the position of authority. In some Muslim majority countries, women are also granted official positions of authority due to modernization. As I have mentioned briefly in chapter One, the Moroccan government gave women official religious authority status in response to globalisation and in order to promulgate the state official perspective on Islam (Rausch, 2012). Apart from the Moroccan example, the Turkish government has also appointed more than three hundred female preachers in 2009 to reach female inhabitants and better serve religious agendas among them (Hassan, 2012).

Some studies indicate that appointing women as leaders has benefited patriarchal movements in reaching new audiences or maintaining members in a community. Nielsen (2019, p. 56) points out that patriarchal movements are likely to begin with men as authorities. When the possibility of reaching new audiences occur, the movements face difficulties in attracting these new audiences. According to him, turning to women as potential spokespersons using their "identity authority" is an essential solution. For example, his study on the Salafi-oriented website saaid.net shows that women preachers were empowered to attract new audiences and deliver patriarchal norms that men cannot. Another study conducted by Madawi al-Rasheed (2013) indicates that female preachers were appointed to reach new audiences. In addition, these female preachers could endorse gender ideas in favour of patriarchy. He said that "*daiyat* endorse the official religious interpretations of the mufti and the Higher Council of Ulama unless the Council changes its *fatwa*s in areas relevant to women, these traditional Salafi preachers will continue to endorse male opinions on matters that touch their lives. They accept the official view, and never demand any rights other than those allowed by the religious establishment and the state" (p. 258).

Maria Jashock (2012) finds that female leaders play a significant role in maintaining female members of the China's Hui Muslim community. In the past, within this community, Muslim women received their religious education from male religious leaders. However, contact between these women and non-kin male religious teachers was considered immoral. Overtime, male religious teachers were replaced by female leaders**.** Having women in leadership positions allows the Hui community to maintain their female members.

2.2.2. **Agency-Focused Argument:** Carving out an opportunity

In the previous section, I described how women gain a position of authority within patriarchal movements through the invitation of and space created by the patriarchal organizations that focus on structure. Rather than passively fill out the position, these women are given and support the ideas in favour of the patriarchal organizations. Nonetheless, their agency is also important.

As mentioned in chapter One, agency is often associated with freedom or regarded as a synonym for free will, in which according to some scholars, only certain individuals have agency while others only have little or none. Agency can also be used as a synonym for 'resistance'. Feminist scholars often address issues of agency as a resistance model. Many

interpret agency as an act of resistance to the patriarchal status quo (Ahearn, 2001, pp. 114–115). Therefore, as Mahmood (2005) says, there is a tendency among feminist scholars to look for expressions of resistance to male domination when discussing women's agency. Furthermore, she states that "agency, in this form of analysis, is understood as the capacity to realize one's own interests against the weight of custom, tradition, transcendental will, or other obstacles (whether individual or collective)" (p. 8).

Research conducted by Lihi ben Shitrit (2015) among female Jewish and Muslim activists within patriarchal movements in Israel and Palestine indicates that some of the female activists, particularly within religious movements with nationalist agendas, participated in demonstrations, protest, and even violent activities. According to her, these actions are considered "more transgressive, as they increasingly compromise the commitment to role difference between men and women, sex segregation, and female modesty" (p. 10). Some of these women occupied leadership positions, which enabled them to step out of the segregated women's space and occupy superior positions to men in the movements. Through this research, she argues for frames of exception and righteous transgressions which justify the activities done by some of the female leaders above. Here, agency as a resistance model is expressed temporarily by these women and the position of authority is achieved through the bottom-up model.

2.2.3 Combining Two Arguments

Instead of understanding agency as a resistance model, some scholars such as Talal Asad (2003) and Saba Mahmood (2005) invite us to think of agency beyond resistance and subordination and emphasize bodily practices. Mahmood (2005) argues that resistance is not the only form of women's agency in patriarchal contexts. She states that "agentival capacity is entailed not only in those acts that resist norms but also in the multiple ways in which one inhabits norms" (p. 15). In her opinion, the way feminist scholars think of agency "has ignored other modalities of agency whose meaning and effect are not captured within the logic of subversion and resignification of hegemonic terms of discourse" (p. 153). Thus, the fact that women support patriarchal movements and endorse the ideology of the movements, as described above, does not indicate that they are free from agentival capacity.

Therefore, I argue for the combination between the top-down argument and bottom-up model in which both patriarchal movements and individual agents play essential roles in the way women achieve their position of authority. As Nielsen (2019) indicates, patriarchal movements create space or give women authority. On the other hand, women within the patriarchal movements do not only passively occupy the position of authority or endorse the patriarchal gender ideas, but they actively use their agency. In order to analyse this issue, we need to look at the frameworks that theoretically propose how individual agents gain a particular position within the social structure and develop the relationships between individual agency and structure.

I find Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice particularly helpful for analysing this condition. This theory pays attention to the way individual agents gain a position within a

particular field by acquiring different types of capital. In addition, it attempts to reconcile structure and agency relationships. The theory of practice developed by Bourdieu suggests that there is a relationship between individual agents and social world. The interaction of one's habitus with these different forms of capital and the field is also essential. The three important Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital and habitus can be summarised in the following equation: "[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice" (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 101). Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, and habitus can be used to a greater understanding the way the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women gain their position of religious authorities within the Muhammadiyah and NU as patriarchal religious organizations. In addition, these concepts can be utilized to explain the way these women exercise their agency and play important roles within the patriarchal organizations. Before reviewing further the implementation of the concepts of field, capital, and habitus in this study, I will first describe the three concepts in this section.

2.3 Bourdieu's Concepts of Field, Capital, and Habitus

2.3.1 Field

To understand individual agents and their practices, it is necessary to examine them in the contexts of fields they are engaged in. Bourdieu (1993) considers fields as "structured spaces of positions (or posts) whose properties depend on their position within these spaces and which can be analysed independently of the characteristics of their occupants (which are partly determined by them)" (p. 72). Fields are understood as "networks of social relations within which struggles take place over resources, stakes, and access" (Everett, 2002, p. 62). They are the context for the competition of power where various agents struggle and attempt to use different strategies and resources (capital) as their weapon to achieve their position or maintain it, and influence others (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 98–99; Grenfell, 2014, p. 67). Within a field, individuals are ranked based on these resources, which are the process in and the product of a field. Thomson in Grenfell (2014) states that although a field is hierarchized and dominant agents and institutions have the power to determine what happens within it, there is still agency and change (p. 71). The field is dynamic and fluid (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 104-106). Each field has its own "logic of practice", and the participants within a field share common beliefs and rules (Bourdieu, 1990; Grenfell, 2014).

The social world comprises many different fields. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), "the limits of the field are situated at the point where the effects of the field cease" (p. 100). In this social world, many people occupy more than one social field at the same time. In describing Bourdieu's field concept, Thomson in Grenfell (2014) explains the relationship between fields:

> Collectives of people occupy more than one social field at a time. They/we can be thought of as occupying a common social space – Bourdieu called this the field of power – which consists of multiple social fields […] There are also relationships of

> exchange between fields which make them inter-dependent: for example, what kind of schooling people receive in the education field can make a lot of difference to how they are positioned in the economic field [...] Bourdieu does not posit the field of power as determining what happens in each of the various social fields. Rather, he suggests a mutual process of influence and ongoing co-construction: what happens in the field of power shapes what can happen in a social field, at the same time as what happens in a social field shapes the field of power and also may influence other social fields (p. 68-69).

2.3.2 Capital

The notions of field and capital are closely related. The success of individual agents in achieving a particular position within a field is determined by their capital as the basis for power. This capital may enable them to achieve legitimation in accordance with the rules of the fields (Albright & Hartman, 2018). The term capital is mostly used in the economic sphere. Bourdieu, however, uses this term in a broader context, which includes all various assets used and exchanged in and across different fields (Grenfell, 2014, p. 99). There are a few kinds of capital identified by Bourdieu. First, economic capital includes financial resources "which is immediately and directly convertible into money and maybe institutionalized in the form of property rights" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). Second, cultural capital which can exist in the three forms: in the embodied form, which is internalised in one's habitus such as taste, language proficiency, and cultural experience; in the objectified form such as books, equipment, pictures; and in the institutionalised form such as educational qualifications (Bourdieu, 1986). Third, social capital which involves social networks or "relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words to membership in a group –" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248). The value of each capital differs from one field to another. In one field, a particular form of capital has a higher value than others. On the other hand, this capital might be less worthy in a different field. For instance, economic capital is more valuable in the field of business, but in the academic field, it is considered less important (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Besides these three forms of capital, Bourdieu also develops another form of capital, namely symbolic capital. It is "a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honourability" (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 291). Symbolic capital is understood as the form of capital that is recognised and perceived in a social field as legitimate. It reflects power of individual agent through the combination of different types of economic, cultural, and social capital (Joy et al, 2020). Although symbolic capital derives from the other forms of capital, it is considered as "denied" capital (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 118). Ihlen (2018) describes that this capital "conceals the underlying interested relations. While symbolic capital can be objectified through prizes and awards, it is largely subjective, in contrast to the other forms, and is perceived as making legitimate demands for recognition. Symbolic capital legitimates power relations" (p. 5).

2.3.3 Habitus

Habitus is one's "history turned into nature" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78), meaning it is the embodiment of one's experiences and circumstances that shapes or generates his/her thoughts, practices, perceptions within social fields. It is a "system of dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 215) that focuses on one's feeling, acting, thinking and being (Grenfell, 2014, p. 50). Bourdieu (in Grenfell (eds), 2014) defines habitus as:

> a property of actors (whether individuals, groups or institutions) that comprises a structured and structuring structure […] it is structured by one's past and present circumstances […] it is structuring in that one's habitus helps to shape one's present and future practices […] it is a structure in that it is systematically ordered rather than random or unpatterned (p. 50).

Habitus is shaped by one's circumstances and experiences in the past and the present. It also shapes one's future. These circumstances and experiences are constantly changing, which means that habitus is evolving (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Not only the habitus is evolving, but the field is also changing as indicated by Maton: "they are also both evolving, so relations between habitus and field are ongoing, dynamic and partial" (Grenfell, 2014, p. 56). Changes in the field can influence the adjustment of the subjective aspirations to the objective structure. At the same time, the habitus of the agents attempts to seek conditions of fulfilment, as Bourdieu indicates "Habitus as a system of dispositions to be and to do is a potentiality, a desire to be which, in certain ways seeks to create the conditions of its fulfilment, and therefore to create the conditions most favourable to what it is" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 150).

One's practice is not only the results of his/her habitus and the position he/she has within a field from the accumulation of various kinds of capital, but the condition of the field he/she is active in is also important. The relationship between habitus and field, in particular, is regarded as a "double and obscure relation" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 127). Habitus links between the objective and subjective, or, as Bourdieu states, "a socialized subjectivity" and "the social embodied" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 127, 128). That is, how "the objective made subjective" (Grenfell, p. 52) and how an individual's practices influence the social structure. Habitus also links structure and agency, as Bourdieu indicates, "the dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72). Therefore, through the relationship between habitus and field, Bourdieu attempts to relate structure and agency and move us from analysing agency as free will.

In addition, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) indicate that "habitus is field specific". The individual's success in achieving a position within a field does not only depend on his/her capital, but the compatibility of his/her habitus with the habitus of the field. Corsun and Costen (2001) argue that "one's success in a given field is primarily a function of the degree to which one's feel for the game matches the game itself" (p. 18). This feel for the game is developed when agents are engaged in the game for a period of time. When the field experiences a change, it may disrupt the positions of agents as well as the dispositions. The

agents attempt to re-regulate their actions and adapt to the new logic of practices within the local contexts (Musofer & Lingard, 2021, p. 5). Musofer and Lingard (2021) call this phenomenon position-making, "the application of the universal, but whose enactment is always mediated by local contexts and agency" (p. 15).

2.4 Modes of Acculturation

As mentioned above, the main concern of this study is the Qur'an recitation practices in the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals. The women featured in this study gain their positions of religious authority, exercise agency, and play roles through negotiating Islamic texts and the ideas of the patriarchal organization. The process of negotiation involves dealing with the acculturation of Islamic and local cultures. To help me answer and analyse my findings related to this problem, I use the concept of acculturation. Although acculturation is often used to study individuals who live outside their country of origin, it can also be used to analyse individuals who come into contact with a variety of cultures.

According to Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936), "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (p. 149). Graves (1967) makes a distinction between acculturation as a group and individual. The former acculturation occurs in the culture of the group, while the latter happens in the psychology of the individual. Berry (1997), more recently, argues that this distinction is essential to examine the relationships between both variables.

Acculturation has been conceptualised in numerous ways. Originally, acculturation was conceptualized as a unidimensional process (see Gordon, 1964). In this unidimensional approach, the maintaining of one's 'heritage culture' and accepting a new culture were regarded as opposing ends. Assimilation was the expected result of acculturation as individuals chose to abandon their original culture and embrace a new culture (Schwartz et al., 2010)

In the 1980s, Berry (1997) developed the concept of acculturation in which maintaining heritage culture and accepting a new culture were considered as independent dimensions. The intersection of these two dimensions create four acculturation strategies: assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization. Assimilation occurs when individuals do not wish to hold on to their original culture and choose to interact with other cultures. Separation occurs when individuals try to maintain their culture of origin and avoid interaction with other cultures. Integration occurs when individuals choose to maintain both original culture while attempting to interact with others. Marginalization occurs when individuals are having a little interest in both maintaining their culture and adopting other cultures.

Some scholars have critiqued Berry's model of acculturation for lacking of psychological and cultural contexts. It was also criticized for its ineffectiveness in explaining differences between groups or individuals (see Boski, P., & Kwast-Welfeld, 1998; Weinreich, 1998). Other scholars such as Rudmin (2003) and Schwarts et al., (2010) have

also criticised Berry's paradigm. They have stated that it is too heavily focused on minority groups and adopts a "one size fits all" approach. Despite the above shortcomings, his model is beneficial and widely used by many researchers in various fields of study (see for example Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Schmitz & Schmitz, 2022; Sheikh & Anderson, 2018)

Schwarts et al., (2010) expanded Berry's model and argued that acculturation is multidimensional in terms of the independence of original culture and new culture. Furthermore, it is multidimensional with regard to the components of culture that may change. For example, cultural practices (language use, cultural customs and traditions), cultural values (belief systems associated with a specific context or group) and cultural identifications (attachments to cultural groups). The acculturation strategy is divided into assimilation referring to one of Berry's model and enculturation. Assimilation is adopting other culture practices, values, and identification and discarding those from original culture. Meanwhile, enculturation is "selectively acquiring or retaining elements of one's heritage culture while also selectively acquiring some elements from the receiving cultural context" (see Schwarts et al., 2010, p. 4).

This study expands this model of acculturation while considering various important matters such as the context of the acculturation process. As Zhou (1997) indicated, situational determinants and environmental factors impact the availability, advantages and selection of various acculturation strategies. In general, these possible determinants refer to individual level factors such as education, family socio-economic background and place of residence. Another important determinant related to contextual factors such as changes in the context of reception, available resources and social capital.

2.5 Gaining Authority and Exercising Agency Through Ritual Practices

This section discusses how theoretical approaches of field, capital, habitus proposed by Bourdieu contribute to understanding how women gain their position of authority and exercise agency in patriarchal organizations through ritual practices.

2.4.1 Ritual Practices, Power Relationships and the Expression of Agency

Following Bourdieu and other practice theorists, Catherine Bell (1997) proposes to analyse ritual as practice. She argues:

> The most we can say is that it is involves ritualization, that is, a way of acting that distinguishes itself from other ways of acting in the very way it does […] The study of ritual as practice has meant a basic shift from looking at activity as the expression of cultural patterns to looking at it as that which makes and harbors such patterns. In this view, ritual is more complex than the mere communication of meanings and values; it is a set of activities that construct particular types of meanings and values in specific ways. Hence, rather than ritual as the vehicle for the expression of authority, practice theorists tend to explore how ritual is a vehicle for the construction of relationships of authority and submission (p. 81).

According to Bell (1997, p. 83), most practice theories share a number of assumptions. First, ritual is considered as an arena for cultural mediation and part of a historic process. Through ritual, past patterns are reproduced, reinterpreted, or transformed. In the ritual, those who have the ability to "address and manipulate" these patterns have power. Second, rather than giving attention to what ritual means, practice theories concerned with what ritual does, especially how power relationships are constructed and negotiated. Third, individual agency such as submission and resistance are expressed through ritual practices. In her book *Ritual Theory Ritual Practice*, Bell (2009, p. 211) describes the way this power relationship is negotiated, and individual agency is expressed through ritual. For Bell, ritualization empowers those who have control over the rite. Therefore, dominance is established in the relationship between who controls and is controlled, or between ritual specialist and non-specialist. However, this control is limited, and the dominance relationship involves participation or resistance.

With regard to the agency of women, several studies also indicate that different forms of agency are expressed by women through ritual practices (Berry, 2006; Boddy, 1989; Maclachlan, 2016; Mahmood, 2005; Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 1999; Primkulova, 2017; Tyagi, 2014). Some of these studies indicate that transgressive behaviour was shown by women through ritual practices (Boddy, 1989; Maclachlan, 2016). Other studies reveal that instead of expressing resistance, women exhibit other forms of agency such as empowerment and religious ends through ritual practices. This, as indicated by Sewell Jr (1992), the agency exercised by different persons is far from uniform. In addition, it differs in both kind and extent (p. 20)

2.4.2 The Position of Authority and Symbolic Capital

Many scholars see ritual as a medium of power relationships. Bloch, for instance, states that ritual constitutes objectification (Bloch, 1974). Besides Bloch, Dietler (2001) points out that ritual is an instrument of domination and an arena of contesting authority. He implies that ritual, particularly feast, is used to gain power and position (p. 72). Beck (2010) also shows that ritual practices have different kinds of function and messages. Beck argues that ritual practices "may be employed as a way to achieve power or as a strategic tool to realize a certain objective" (p. 210).

Several studies indicate that ritual can be a tool for exercising and establishing authority. In his book, Middleton (1960) demonstrates how Lugbara people in East Africa were seeking and contesting their authority through ritual occasion. Wu (2013) also argues that different kinds of authority are established through ritual. He gave an example from his study between 2001 and 2003 among a Catholic group in suburban New England. He finds that personal and institutional authority was created in a charismatic priest through a ritual process. Within the group, the charismatic leader attempted to reinforce his authority by maintaining control over the participants through the prayer ritual.

Another research conducted by Chagas (2011, 2013) shows how female Sufi figures gained their authority through public religious lessons (*ḥalāqah*) within a Syrian Sufi group

called Kuftariya in Damascus. In these occasions when religious lessons were given, some rites such as prayers, the Qur'an recitation and *zikir* were performed, and Islamic lectures were delivered. The leaders of the religious lesson were legitimized by the Kuftariya community as religious authorities and continued enjoying their position. In her other work among the Sunni community in Rio de Janeiro, Chagas (2012) also finds how the community leader constructed his authority through religious meetings. These instances show that ritual can be considered as an arena for establishing the position of authority. A question is left here regarding the way people gain the status of authority through these ritual practices.

I have mentioned above that for Bourdieu, individual agents need symbolic capital to acquire a particular position within a field. Krüger et al., (2005) argue that ritual, particularly public hospitality, is seen as an arena of harmonious celebration of identity and unity among the community. At the same time, it is an arena of acquiring positions as well as social recognition. Through ritual, individual agents may acquire positions by utilising their capital (p. 9). In the context of ritual, symbolic capital translates into the ability to control the ritual, make decisions, and influence others. Therefore, those who have these abilities may gain position and authority.

Bell (2009, pp. 134, 213–214) argues that although oral societies differ from literate societies, the problem regarding ritual remains the same. That is, ritual should be authenticated by those who have control, i.e., ritual specialists. Ritual specialists have the authority which resides in their important role in mediating between humans and non-human powers. Within literate societies, in particular, literacy opens a gap between the past and the present, and ritual codes are prescribed in the text. Here, the status of authority resides in the text as well as in ritual specialists who can interpret the text and mediate between the past and the present (Bell, 1993, p. 107, 1997, p. 201).

A few instances show the way individual agents achieve the position of authorities by having control of ritual practices. Barnes (1990) notes that during pre-colonial African societies, women in Lagos city were perceived as leaders and ritual authorities by mastering and having control of the formality of ritual. In the ritual, these specialists gain legitimation as the divine interpreter and benefited in which others only have access through them. Ethnographic research conducted by Susan Starr Sered (1992) among Jewish women in Jerusalem indicates that women achieved the position of authority as ritual experts within male-dominated religion because of several reasons. For example, they had control of capital and had the ability to reinterpret the text.

While exploring political aspects of ritual, Barnes (1990) concludes two important points: "first, ritual was salient to the process of expanding an authority role, so that power exercised in one arena could be made to extend into another. Second, ritual could be used to legitimate authority, particularly authority of an alien people" (p. 262). Here, ritual is not only considered a significant tool to achieve power and the position of authority, but it can be a tool to expand power or the position of authority outside the ritual context. Those who have power and achieve the position of authority through ritual may expand their status in a wider arena. Being ritual specialists enable them to accumulate more capital, in particular cultural and social, and then achieve a higher position within society.

2.4.3 Habitus, Agency, and Ritual Practices

As mentioned before, practice theories assume that ritual is part of the historical process in which past patterns are reproduced, reinterpreted, or transformed. Rituals are transformed or modified, and actions are restructured. Bell argues that the relationship between ritual and its various contexts can result in the changes of structures, symbols, and reinterpretation of ritual activities. She further explains that:

> Ritual can change as the conditions of the community change. In addition, all sorts of formally designated or self-styled ritual experts have at times devised and shaped ritual activities […] no ritual stands by itself. It is always embedded in a thick context of traditions, changes, tensions, and unquestioned assumptions and practices. Ritual is a way that people can act in the world, and all those factors that influence how any person and group acts will influence the performance and understanding of ritual. A community's attitudes and styles of ritualizing are inseparable from their worldview […]. (Bell, 1997, p. 252)

The concept of habitus developed by Bourdieu can be related to this issue as it mediates between old and new ritual practices (p. 13). The habitus of the individual agent, in particular ritual specialists, plays essential role in shaping ritual practices. How the ritual is practiced cannot be separated from their thoughts, tastes, and preferences. Their habitus influences the ritual practices, and in turn, ritual practices affect the habitus of the ritual specialists.

Within oral communities, the audience of a ritual performance holds power to judge the performance and has the right to validate its relation to the past and the present (Bell, 2009, p. 120). In addition, ritual practices are more easily adapted to the changing circumstances. Nevertheless, among the literate communities in which the ritual procedures are mostly codified, the strategies of ritualization are different from those in oral societies. Bell says that in literate societies, ritual is not "a matter of doing what it seems people have always done; it becomes the correct performance or enactment of the textual script. The audience has little right or opportunity to approve or disapprove, since only those who have access to the texts know whether it is being done correctly or not" (Bell, 1997, p. 107).

Thus, within the literate societies, the authority of the textual scripts has shifted to the authority of those who have access to the texts. Bell points out "in general, such textual codification involves a shift from the authority of memory, seniority, and practical expertise (e.g., "traditional authority," according to Weber and Bloch) to the authority of those who control access to and interpretation of the texts" (Bell, 2009, p. 136). Although the text itself is seen as unchanging, those who have access to it, such as ritual specialists may interpret the text in various kinds of meaning and adjust the interpretation to the need of the present context.

In this case, the ritual specialists bridge the gap between maintaining the past and considering or adapting to the present context. To fulfil this task, they make some changes as society changes and conducts some negotiations. With regard to ritual practices, these authority agents or ritual specialists develop and shape ritual activities at times (Bell, 1997).

Such developments and changes can be seen more obviously in a ritual practised by a local community. The textual scripts containing the prescription of the ritual practices need to be reinterpreted in different contexts. Sometimes, this reinterpretation leads to a tension between the central ritual practice (as prescribed in the texts) and local ritual practice (as reinterpreted by the authority agents or ritual specialists). Here, the agentival capacity of the ritual specialists can be shown through their negotiation of the prescribed texts and local contexts. As Musofer and Lingard (2020) noted earlier, the application of the universal ideas is always linked to local contexts and agency (p. 15). The habitus of the agents within different contexts can be observed here. Sewell Jr. (1992) argues that "agency arises from the actor's knowledge of schemas, which means the ability to apply them to new contexts" (p. 20).

A considerable amount of research illustrates the role of ritual experts or specialists in shaping ritual practices and negotiating some of the ritual elements. Research conducted by Dessing (2001, 2002) among Muslim diaspora communities in the Netherlands indicates that religious experts played an important role in transplanting and adapting ritual practices from one context to another. Furthermore, they have essential roles in developing the practices from their origin context to the Dutch context. A study by Spellman-Poots (2012) shows how some authority agents of young Shi'i Muslims in London reshaped the ritual of Ashura. The commemoration of Ashura is practiced by Shi'i Muslims and often associated with the performance of *latmiya* (self-flagellation of one's body in grief such as beating chests with a whip of chains and blades done by male participants or cutting their foreheads until blood streams from their body). This performance was an expression of solidarity with the suffering of Imam Hussein, the grandchild of the Prophet Muhammad. It had been practiced by many Shi'is including those who lived in this country. Based on the opinion of some prominent leaders of Shi'i who did not agree with this performance, young Shi'i British leaders attempted to give new meanings to the Ashura ritual by renewing past practice and adapting to the new context. For instance, instead of performing *latmiya,* since 1997, they had been organizing the Imam Hussein blood donation campaign to commemorate his sacrifice. In their opinion, the Ashura celebration should be an occasion to carry out good deeds and give charity.

Within ritual, Krüger et al., (2005) argue that some expressions of agency are not only shown by ritual specialists, but also by non-ritual specialists. For instance, related to the context in which rituals are conducted, there are some differences between individual and public rituals. In an individually oriented ritual, the decision to conduct ritual, the choice of time and place, the purpose of ritual, the framework of ritual, as well as the selection of other actors such as ritual specialists depends on individual or his/her family. These selections are subject to his/her agency and family. On the other hand, in the collective-oriented ritual, non-ritual specialists have less agency while ritual specialists are assigned more agency. Place and time are usually determined by ritual specialists or community members. How ritual is performed is also the responsibility of ritual specialists.

2.4.4 The Authority and Agency of Individual Agents in a Religious Field

In the previous section, I described the way individual agents gain their position as ritual specialists by accumulating and demonstrating symbolic capital which makes them have the authority to control over the practice of rituals. In addition, ritual specialists assigned more agency, particularly on the public ritual occasions by having control over the ritual practices. However, there are a few issues regarding the status of authority and agency of individual agents in a religious field.

First, the authority of ritual specialists (male and female) depends on their ability to mediate human and non-human powers. Nevertheless, the value of ritual performance correctness tends to be critical. On the one hand, the correctness of the ritual performance maintains expertise. On the other hand, other experts or audiences may judge this performance's correctness. Furthermore, according to Bell (2009), "the power to do the ritual correctly resides in the specialist's officially recognized or appointed status (office), not in the personhood or personality of the specialist. In this way, the institutionalized office can control, constrain, and pass judgment on a specialist" (p. 134).

Second, the authority of ritual specialists (male and female) is negotiated with the acceptance or rejection of the community (Krüger et al., 2005, p. 16). As mentioned in chapter One, authority can be understood as legitimized power. Therefore, to be recognized as authority, the acceptance of the community is essential. McBride indicates, to be recognized as authority, there should be an agreement that "a device" (for example, ritual specialist) has the right to direct action. Within a religious organization, many devices occupy the position of authority such as individual agents, a group of experts, or an office. Thus, there should be a belief and willingness of others about which device is given the authority (Krämer & Schmidtke, 2006; McBride, 2016).

Third, within a male-dominated religious field, both structure and individual agents play important role related to how women become ritual experts and gain a position of authority. Based on her study among a Jewish community in Jerusalem between 1984 and 1985, Sered (1992) concludes that the authority of (female) ritual experts in this male-dominated religion refers to a few factors. The first factor is their ability to interpret the prescribed texts of religion in various context. The other factors are there are 'rooms' for women to gather and construct the same worldview, and recognition of their ownership on particular parts of cultural landscape (p. 140). Here, to gain position of authority, individual agents attempt to accumulate and use their capital. On the other hand, the structure creates rooms for women and recognize their ownership on particular parts of cultural landscape. From these limited 'rooms' their authority may expand to a wider context.

2.5 Conclusion

Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, and habitus are useful for understanding the way women of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU, that I work with, gain the position of religious authority, exercise their agency, and play their roles within the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations in particular. It is essential for explaining how women gain a position, exercise agency, and play important roles within patriarchal movements in general. First and foremost, to achieve the status of religious authority within the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations, the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU members need to accumulate and demonstrate legitimized capital in agreement with the field rules.

As noted in chapter One, in general, a Muslim can achieve the position of Islamic religious authority by accumulating several kinds of capital. For instance, cultural capital in its various forms (e.g., in an embodied form such as having a good character or piety; in an objectified form such as writing Islamic books and achieving certificates; and in an institutionalized form such as academic qualifications through mastering Islamic knowledge and having the ability to interpret religious texts). In addition to cultural capital, social capital such as having a good network or being descendants of famous religious authority figures is also essential in this context. However, in the Indonesian context or within both organizations, the symbolic capital of religious authority may be little bit different. I will discuss this issue in chapters Three and Four.

Both the patriarchal movements and individual agents play an important role regarding the authority of women within the organizations. The Muhammadiyah and NU create a particular space for the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women where they can gather and share the same worldview. Ritual is one of the important spaces in which the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women can gather and form a network for the transformation of religious knowledge. They can also accumulate and demonstrate symbolic capital, then become ritual specialists and gain a position as religious authority. The symbolic capital in this context translates into the ability of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women to mediate between human and non-human powers, interpret religious texts, have control over the ritual practices, make decisions related to the ritual frameworks. By achieving the status of religious authority through ritual practices, they may extend this position into a broader context.

In addition, women of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU exercise and express various modes of agency in the patriarchal religious organizations through these ritual practices. This phenomenon can be seen from the interaction of their habitus with the patriarchal organizations' habitus as well as the ritual practices. For instance, how they support or resist the ideas of the patriarchal organizations; how they reinterpret religious texts as well as the formal decisions of the organizations to the local contexts; how they deal with the issue of acculturation when the traditions of Islam meet local cultures, such as deciding some ritual practices as 'Islamic', determining local customs as accepted, rejected, or can be modified. For these issues, I will use the concept of acculturation developed by Berry and Schwarts et al., I will discuss these issues further in chapter Six through chapter Eight.



UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI

PROF. K.H. SAIFUDDIN ZUHRI

PURWOKERTO – INDONESIA

Chapter 3
Female Religious Authority and Ritual in the Indonesian Context

3.1 Introduction

The majority of Indonesians are Muslims; however, the nation is not an Islamic state. In seeking religious knowledge and guidance, many invest their trust to individual religious authority figures – ulama (male and female) – and believe in their authority since they have the considerable ability in interpreting religious teachings and practices (Hosen, 2004, p. 148). In 2004, of 1,880 Muslim respondents from throughout Indonesia, the percentage of people who refer to ulama regarding religious issues was quite high. Almost half of the respondents often listen to ulama, and 42.6% of them said they ask ulama sometimes. Only a small proportion, 12.8% said they never go to ulama. This percentage increased in 2006. From 850 respondents, 63.9% of them often refer to ulama, 32.3% asked ulama sometimes, and 3.9 % never asked for their guidance.[17] Throughout the history of Indonesia, male ulama, have played a significant role in both religious and non-religious aspects of everyday life. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, as the impact of modernity, the authority of male ulama has been challenged, and religious authority becomes a contested matter. Women play a significant role in this contestation and gain position as female religious authorities.

Not only the issue of religious authority becomes a contested matter, but *fatwa* and religious guidance given by religious authority agents are also sometimes debatable. Ritual practices are also subject to dispute. As explained in chapter one, Islamic rituals are far from uniform. This heterogeneity is explained by the difference in interpretation of religious texts given by religious authority agents and the diverse culture of Muslim societies.

Java was a centre of Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms before Islam arrived on this island. Javanese people had been adopting and practicing Hindu and Buddhist religions, as well as indigenous practices. Ever since Islam became established in Java, many Javanese mixed their Islamic practices with Hinduism, Buddhism, or indigenous cultures that existed before (S. Anwar, 2005). This group of Javanese is often called *abangan, agami Jawi,* or *kejawen*. Another Javanese Muslim group is considered more 'orthodox' and is known as *santri* (Geertz, 1976; Koentjaraningrat, 1985; Woodward, 2011) (see further section 3.3.1 in this chapter). Some *santris* attempt to maintain indigenous tradition while changing its

[17] National surveys conducted by Centre for the Advancement of Research and Policy Studies on Islamic Education and Socio-Religious Development (Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat, PPIM) State Islamic University of Jakarta in 2004 and 2006 (Burhanudin, 2007, pp. 257–258).

characteristic to be more Islamic, whereas others prefer to abandon all kinds of indigenous customs. All these different attitudes affect the diversity of Javanese Muslim ritual practices.

As noted in chapter Two, to achieve a particular position within a field, individual agents use different strategies and legitimized capital as their weapon (Albright & Hartman, 2018; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Grenfell, 2014). Therefore, to gain the status of being a religious authority within a patriarchal organization, women need to accumulate and demonstrate legitimized capital in agreement with the field rules. Ritual is one of the essential spaces in which these women can gain, show, or even lose their capital. In addition, through ritual, women may exercise and exhibit different kinds of agency as well as play their roles within the organizations by negotiating Islamic texts and local contexts as well as interpreting the meaning of Islamic rituals.

This chapter aims to provide background information about religious authority in Indonesia including the capital needed to gain this position. Also, it aims to discuss rituals in the context of Indonesia, in particular Java, where this research was conducted. This discussion is important to analyse various modes of agency of the individual agents which can be seen from the interaction between their habitus, the habitus of the organizations and the ritual practices. The first section provides a description of religious authority from before the twentieth century until the present day and the emergence of modernity as well as its impact on religious authority. The next section gives an explanation regarding the division of Javanese Islam, diverse practices of Javanese Muslim rituals and the developments they deal with.

3.2 Religious Authority

3.2.1 Religious Authority until the Early Twentieth Century

Throughout Indonesian history, religious authority has been generally vested in individual ulama (male). Until the early twentieth century, their position was unchallenged as they were the only source of Islamic expertise (Feillard, 2010; Machasin, 2010). The word ulama refers to Muslim scholars who acquire religious knowledge through education and have the ability to interpret religious texts (Ephrat & Hatina, 2014; Gaborieau, 2010; Hunwick, 2013; Mouline, 2014). In the Indonesian context, the word ulama is mostly used to refer to religious scholars, particularly scholars of *fikih* (Islamic jurisprudence) (Azra, 2002a, p. xxviii; Zulkifli, 2013) and those who are capable of giving guidance and advice to people on religious matters (D. Wahid, 2012).

Some people are also known as *cendekiawan Muslim* (Muslim intellectuals) instead of ulama, and they have also mastered *fikih* knowledge. Socio-religious factors play an essential role. Within Indonesian Muslim society, in addition to mastering Islamic knowledge, those who are considered as ulama are required to fulfil certain roles and attributes. First, they should have moral integrity and have good conduct in line with religious rulings. Second, they need to maintain good relationships with the Muslim community at a grassroots level. For example, local leaders who occupy important and strategic positions and

those who own *pesantren* or manage *madrasah* usually have a strong relationship with their community and are often called ulama (Azra, 2002a; Burhanudin, 2002; Hosen, 2008; D. Wahid, 2012; Zulkifli, 2013). Another reason to be known as ulama is their involvement in various social religious activities such as *pengajian* and religious rituals. These factors are regarded as more important compared to mastering Islamic knowledge, in particular, *fikih*. Here, the symbolic capital needed by individual agents to be regarded ulama in the Indonesian context are a combination of cultural and social capital. For instance, they should master religious knowledge, in particular *fikih*, have a good conduct and piety. Besides, they can maintain a good relationship with people in the grassroots level and involve in religious activities within Muslim society.

The local context determines the way in which ulama are referred to. In east and central Java people call them *kyai*; the Sundanese of West Java call them *ajengan*; Acehnese call them *teungku*; North Sumatran people call this kind of scholars *syaikh*. Elsewhere, such as in Nusa Tenggara, South Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, and Central Kalimantan, they are known as *tuan guru* (Departemen Pendidikan RI, 1996, p. 25; Dhofier, 1980, p. 67; Machasin, 2010; Sunarwoto, 2015)**.** Within the Javanese context, some scholars distinguish between ulama and *kyai*. Dhofier (1980), for instance, points out that the title of *kyai* is usually given to the scholars of Islam who lead a *pesantren* (p. 67). The tittle of ulama, on the other hand, is given to Muslim scholars who do not lead a *pesantren.* The term is also given to the chairperson of mass Muslim organizations like Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (D. Wahid, 2012, pp. 247–248).

Nevertheless, at present, some ulama who do not lead a *pesantren* are also called *kyai*. The different titles given to *kyai* and ulama are usually based on their social status and influence within the community (Dhofier, 1980, pp. 67–68; D. Wahid, 2012, pp. 247–248). Regarding the status of ulama and *kyai*, Horikoshi (1987) argues that the status of *kyai* is higher than the position of ulama. In his opinion, a *kyai* is more capable of conducting *ijtihad* than an ulama. In addition, a *kyai* is considered more charismatic than an ulama in the eyes of the community (pp. 1-3). Another scholar, van Bruinessen (1998a), however, regards that the position of ulama is higher than *kyai* (pp. 167-168).

Apart from distinguishing between ulama and *kyai,* some scholars tend to differentiate ulama who follow Sufi practices, as noted in chapter One. While ulama achieve their authority through exoteric way by mastering religious knowledge through education or training, and stick to the 'orthodox' teaching of Islam, Sufi ulama gain their authority through esoteric way by acquiring religious knowledge through mystical experiences and maintain "popular forms of Islam" (Ephrat & Hatina, 2014; Gaborfieau, 2010; Hunwick, 2013; Kalmbach, 2012; Mouline, 2014; Sunarwoto, 2015). This distinction, however, is not always obvious. Within the Nahdlatul Ulama community, some ulama are also Sufis. For instance, Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari, one of the founders of NU, was regarded as an *ulama* and Sufi saint at the same time. Another example is Nyai Chamnah, a prominent figure of *Tijaniah* (Ar., Tījāniyyah) Sufi Order from Cirebon West Java is considered as a female ulama (*ulama perempuan Indonesia*). *Pesantren* educational institutions, where the traditionalist NU organization was established, have also been the centre of Sufi order. Since January 1978, *Pesantren* Tebuireng Jombang, one of the NU *pesantren*s has become the centre of the

Kadiriah (Ar., Qādiriyyah) and *Nakhsybandiah* (Ar., Naqsybandiyyah) Sufi orders in East Java (Burhanudin, 2002; Dhofier, 1980, p. 255; Smith & Hamdi, 2014; Smith & Woodward, 2014, p. 8; Sunarwoto, 2015, p. 118).

In the pre-modern era, ulama (male) often played an important role as a judge (Ar., *qāḍī*, Ind., *kadi*) in the court system. Their position as *kadi* gave them authority in the religious sphere among Muslim communities by giving *fatwa* and guidance related to the religious issues. Some historical facts showed that they participated in decision making processes in the sultanates of Aceh, Palembang, Mataram, and Sambas (Ichwan, 2005, p. 45). Ulama continued enjoying their status as *kadi* until the change of the socio-political situation of the Indonesian archipelago with the fall of the Islamic kingdoms. After the fall of the Islamic kingdoms, they began to establish their own Islamic institutions outside the court, such as building *pesantren* in Java, *surau* in Minangkabau West Sumatra and *dayah* in Aceh. Through these Islamic institutions, ulama gained their religious authority. They became Islamic experts to whom local Muslims refer regarding religious matters.

In Java, *pesantren* have existed since the sixteenth century or earlier but they only spread throughout the island in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century (Azra et al., 2007, p. 175). Prior to this, *pesantren* were the only Islamic institution in Java built by ulama which offered religious knowledge education. Before the establishment of *pesantren,* Muslims at their earlier ages were taught the Qur'an recitation by their families – parents, brothers, or sisters – or closest neighbours and continued training by qualified religious teachers in small mosque called *langgar* or at large mosques. These basic trainings were given on a personal basis (Dhofier, 1980, pp. 7–8, 20). Besides providing religious knowledge, *pesantren* also became ulama training centre as stated by Azra et al. (2007) "The aim of traditionalist education, then, was to transmit religious knowledge, preserve the Islamic tradition as a whole, and serve as a centre for the training and social reproduction of ulama" (p. 174). Those who served as mosque leaders or local religious teachers were trained in *pesantren.* Upon graduation from *pesantren,* students were given oral acknowledgement by a *kyai* known as *ijazah* (Dhofier, 1980, p. 13).

In addition to the establishment of *pesantren* institutions, the position of ulama as a religious authority in Islam was strengthened by the Dutch policy. The Dutch government created a religious elite group consisting of village heads (*penghulu*). With the help of this religious elite group, the Dutch government tried to lead the '*Indische'* Muslims under their authority. The reasoning was that when the native elites were under the authority of the Dutch, the *'Indische'* people were expected to follow them under the colonial authority. The ulama then took action by emerging into a particular group with distinct religious terms and social behaviour from the native elite groups appointed by the Dutch government and the native aristocracy (*priyayi*) group (Burhanudin, 2007, 2010, 2014). Although the native elite groups were created by the Dutch government to attract Muslim society, the ulama continued to have an essential place among Muslims in Java.

Some scholars argue that ulama or *kyai* – as Javanese people call them – in their classical role were regarded as a mediator in all aspects of human life. For instance, they are 'medium' between God and human who translate universal Islamic tenets as prescribed in the Qur'an, hadith, and Islamic law books from different *mazhab*s to local tradition (Dhofier,

1980; Dirdjosanjoto, 1999; Geertz, 1976). In the past, most of them conveyed the knowledge of Islam orally and rarely wrote it down in books. For many Muslims, particularly within village communities, ulama or *kyai* are the only sources of Islamic knowledge. Nevertheless, sometimes, their role expanded beyond this expertise. People often came for various purposes and asked them guidance on different issues other than religious, such as concerns regarding family matters and business. Many people also believed in their magical powers and asked for prayers and amulets to protect against evil or disaster (Dhofier, 1980; Feillard, 2010; Horikoshi, 1987; Machasin, 2010; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006; D. Wahid, 2012). Here, their status as religious authority enables them to gain more and various kinds of capital outside the religious sphere.

Within *pesantren* communities, a *kyai* is the absolute source of power and authority. Their position is uncontested except by another greater *kyai* or ulama (Dhofier, 1980, p. 68; Dirdjosanjoto, 1999, p. 156). With the trust of Muslim society in the ability of *kyai* to solve a range of issues such as religious, social, economic and others makes the position of *kyai* in line with the elites (Qomar, 2002, p. 29). This fact, therefore, very much contributes to accepting their authority in the Javanese society (Rahman, 2015, p. 91). The authority of religious figures such as *kyai* or ulama is largely charismatic. This charisma is recognized from their religious knowledge and good conduct (D. Wahid, 2012; Weber, 1978; Zulkifli, 2013).

3.2.2 Modernity and its Impact on Religious Authority

From the beginning of the twentieth century, the idea of democracy has spread throughout Indonesia. In addition, in this period, Indonesian people have witnessed the development of higher education, the establishment of modern institutions, and the use of various media which has questioned the authority of individual (male) ulama. The privilege they have had as a mediator of various aspects of human life and as the one who has the authority to speak on Islam is now more open (Feillard, 2010; Machasin, 2010; D. Wahid, 2012; Zulkifli, 2013).

3.2.2.1 The Shifting Role of Individual Ulama

By the spreading idea of democracy in Indonesia, the role of individual *ulama* has expanded from being a so-called "cultural broker" in Geertz's view, who attempts to bridge between a "Meccan universal notion" of Islam and "Javanese tradition" into linking between the Jakarta notion of State and democracy and village. Their role relates not only to religious or economic matters but also to political issues. The relation of *kyai* and Muslim society is becoming more complex. The *kyai* is not only considered as a religious guide and mystic teacher, but also as a politician (Burhanudin, 2007; Feillard, 2010; Geertz, 1976; Machasin, 2010; Mansurnoor, 1987; Zulkifli, 2013). Although in the opinion of Feillard (2010), the political role of a *kyai* is nothing new since some religious figures have been engaged in the political sphere before the Japanese invasion (p. 161). Nevertheless, this role has been more obvious after the independence of Indonesia. This shifting role, on the one hand, gives advantages for the

government, *kyai* himself and the Muslim community. On the other hand, there is a phenomenon of desacralization of his status as religious authority or his charisma because of their engagement in the political field. For instance, many Muslims choose to refer to non-politician *kyai* for religious issues (Feillard, 2010; Turmudi, 2006).

3.2.2.2 Mass Higher Education and Formal Religious Authority Institution

Until the early years of the twentieth century, *pesantren* as an ulama training center was still considered as traditional because its curriculum only consisted of classical Islamic knowledge (Azra et al., 2007, p. 74). Students of *pesantren,* known as *santri*, are taught the Qur'an, hadith, classical texts including *tafsir*, *syarah* (Ar., *syarḥ* meaning explanation) of hadith, *tasawuf* (mysticism), *fikih* (Islamic jurisprudence) and Arabic grammar. Most of these materials were printed on yellow paper and are known as *kitab kuning* (literally: 'yellow books') mostly referred to books of the Syafii *mazhab* (Van Bruinessen, 1990, p. 2).

Formal education has expanded greatly since the twentieth century. By the early 1900s, *pesantren* were no longer the only institution that offered religious education in Java. Around this time, *madrasah* were established in some parts of the Indonesian country (Azra et al., 2007, p. 176). The Indonesian *madrasah* has experienced dramatic growth since its first establishment. In around 2010, the number of *madrasah* throughout the country had reached 43,640 (F. Alawiyah, 2014). In 2019, there were 82,418 *madrasah*s with 9,245,248 students as reported by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Indonesia (Kementrian Agama, 2019).

In the 1920s, several *pesantren*s also expanded their curricula by combining religious knowledge and secular subjects (Dhofier, 1980, p. 18). In the 1930s, many *pesantren*s had added secular subjects to their curricula, and since the 1970s, this new curricula became an important part of *pesantren* life (Lukens-Bull, 2001). Many of these *pesantren*s offer middle and high school programmes that are equivalent of those available in government schools (Smith & Woodward, 2014; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006). In the past, some senior students continued their education in Mecca, Medina, or Cairo after graduating from *pesantren*. Nevertheless, after the establishment of Islamic higher educational institutions in Indonesia, many of them continue their religious education in these places and receive their degree in religious knowledge (Azra et al., 2007, p. 175).

According to Yunus (1996), Islamic higher educational institutions first emerged in Padang West Sumatera in 1940, namely the Sekolah Islam Tinggi (p. 278). However, it lasted only for two years owing to the Japanese invasion. On 18th July 1945, another Islamic higher institution namely "Sekolah Tinggi Islam" opened in Jakarta with its curricula developed from the faculty of Religious Studies (*Usuluddin*) the University of al-Azhar Egypt (Daulay, 2006, pp. 98–99). In 1951, the institution of Islamic higher education was established by the government of Indonesia supervised by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Amiruddin, 2017). Private universities, institutes or colleges were built by different institutions. In 2014, the number of state Islamic higher institutions which had reached 58, consisted of 17 State Islamic Universities (Universitas Islam Negeri, UIN), 24 State Islamic Institutes (Institut

Agama Islam Negeri, IAIN) and 17 State Islamic College (Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negeri, STAIN). In the same year, there were 72 private Islamic institutes, 650 private Islamic colleges, and 107 Islamic faculty within non-Islamic universities (Direktorat Pendidikan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam, 2015).

After the establishment of *madrasah,* modern or mixed *pesantren,*[18] and Islamic higher institution, the training centre for ulama was not limited to traditional *pesantren*. Some of these *pesantren*s and Islamic higher institutions even conduct particular courses known as ulama cadre program. This program is held independently or in collaboration with the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Indonesia. For example, to prepare future ulama, *pesantren* Darussalam through the University of Darussalam Gontor East Java provides a six months training program, namely Pendidikan Kader Ulama (PKU) (training for young Muslim scholars). Some Islamic subjects such as the Qur'an and its sciences (*'ulūm al-Qur'ān*), *tafsir*, *hadith* and its sciences (*'ulūm al-ḥadīṡ*), *fikih* are given during the training (Unida Gontor, 2020).

Some *pesantren* colleges known as *al-Ma'had al-'Ālī* are chosen as special institutions to prepare the future ulama based on the decision of the minister of Religious Affairs (Keputusan Menteri Agama, KMA) no 284 in 2001 (Arifuddin, 2006, p. 24). Through *al-Ma'had al-'Ālī,* the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Indonesia prepares the future ulama by awarding scholarships known as *beasiswa santri* (Kementrian Agama, 2020). The Ministry of Religious Affairs of Indonesia also collaborates with some Islamic higher institutions to provide scholarships for ulama educational programmes (Kominfo Jatim, 2014). On the one hand, the development of *madrasah*, *pesantren*, and Islamic higher institution gives benefits as the training centre of ulama. On the other hand, it generates more educated people. Rather than just listening to the traditional ulama as happened in the past, these educated people often criticize the view of ulama. This phenomenon thus affects the authority of these traditional *ulama* (male) (Eickelman, 1999, p. 79).

Another important change that occurred from the beginning of the twentieth century was the establishment of religious authority institutions. In the past, religious authority resided in individual (male) ulama as mentioned earlier in this chapter. The individual ulama, particularly *kyai* in Java, or religious leaders, are considered as the informal religious authority (Machasin, 2010). However, after the foundation of Muslim organizations in Indonesia, in addition to the individual ulama, these organizations established formal religious authority institutions. *Fatwa* and religious guidance were given collectively instead of individually. Among Muslim organizations which developed formal religious authority institutions, Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah were the most significant groups. The network of ulama within both organizations has been dominating the religious life of the Indonesian Muslims. Besides *fatwa* institutions established by the Muslim organizations, an official *fatwa* institution was founded by the government of Indonesia in 1975, namely The

[18] Lukens-Bull divides *pesantren* into three different types. First, *salaf* or traditional *pesantren*. This type of *pesantren* only offers religious education (*ngaji*) and character development (*pengalaman*). Second, *khalaf* or modern *pesantren* which provides religious education, general education (*sekolah*), and skill training (*ketrampilan*). The last, mixed *pesantren*, gives religious education, character development, general education, and skill training (Lukens-Bull, 2001).

Council of Indonesian Ulama (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, MUI) as briefly mentioned in chapter one (Kaptein, 2004; Lindsey, 2012; Machasin, 2010; Tayob, 2010; Widigdo & Homaidi, 2018).

From the beginning of its establishment in 1926, the NU organization has issued *fatwa*s through the activity of *bahtsul masail* (the study of issues) held at the NU Congress (*Muktamar*). It was conducted soon after the inception of the NU organization. In this *bahtsul masail* forum, the *fatwa*s were made collectively by the ulama of NU instead of given individually (Kaptein, 2004; Laffan, 2005; Zahro, 2004). In addition to discussing organizational issues, the ulama of NU issued a compilation of *fatwa* on Islamic law which was published afterwards entitled *Ahkām al-Fuqahā'* (Mudzhar, 1993, p. 3). Nevertheless, the *bahtsul masail* forum had yet to become an official fatwa council within the NU organization until more than half a century later.

In 1990, the central board of the Nahdlatul Ulama formed *Lajnah Bahtsul Masail Diniyah* which then changed its name to *Lembaga Bahtsul Masail Nahdlatul Ulama* abbreviated as LBMNU (Ka'bah, 1999, pp. 137–139; Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama, 2015; Zahro, 2004, p. 68). The *fatwa*s of LBMNU in particular, or NU in general since the first *bahtsul masail* forum, are mostly disseminated through paper-based distribution methods or published as a compilation of book such as a book of "*Masalah Keagamaan Hasil Muktamar dan Munas Ulama Nahdlatul Ulama 1926–1994*" (Rulings of the Legal Experts Based on the Congresses of NU 1926-1994) (Hosen, 2008). Now, the *fatwa* are also available through the NU website.

Muhammadiyah also has its own religious authority body. Unlike the NU organization which has been conducting *bahtsul masail* forum and issuing religious *fatwa* collectively by its ulama since the beginning of its establishment, the Muhammadiyah organization felt the need to form the *fatwa* body namely *Majelis Tarjih* (Tarjih council) in 1927, fifteen years after its foundation. Before, the discussion of religious matters was taken by the leadership (S. Anwar, 2005, p. 33; Ka'bah, 1999, pp. 95–96; Mudzhar, 1993, pp. 3–4; A. Tayob, 2010, p. 86).

The name of the *fatwa* council has been changed approximately three times until now. In 1971, the name of *Majelis Tarjih* was changed to *Lajnah Tarjih* (Tarjih Commission). In 1995, this body was called *Majelis Tarjih dan Pengembangan pemikiran Islam* (the Tarjih Council and the Development of Islamic Thought). Since 2005, the name of *Majelis Tarjih dan Pengembangan Pemikiran Islam* has been changed into *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* (The Tarjih and Renewal Council mean revitalization of Islam, abbreviated as MTT) (S. Anwar, 2005, pp. 33–34). The *fatwa* and decision issued by *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* are published in a compilation of book entitled *"Tanya Jawab Agama"*, and *"Himpunan Putusan Tarjih"*. Besides, some *fatwa*s are disseminated through *"Suara Muhammadiyah"* magazine and MTT website. As Muslim organizations with the central, regional, and district or sub-district boards, there is a hierarchy in *fatwa* issued by the LBMNU and MTT. For instance, a *fatwa* or decision from a lower board is considered less authoritative than one from a higher board (Kaptein, 2004, p. 125). (See further chapter Four).

The state-sponsored ulama institution, the MUI was established on 26th of July 1975 initiated by the then president of Indonesia, Suharto. He established the MUI as a nationwide

organization of ulama (Hosen, 2004; Ichwan, 2005; Kaptein, 2004; Lindsey, 2012; Mudzhar, 1993; Saat, 2018). Before the establishment of the MUI, some government-sponsored ulama councils had previously been founded. For example, Ulama council in West Java, which was founded in 1958 and Ulama council in Aceh, which was founded in 1965. The authority of these councils, however, was limited to particular regions (Saat, 2018, pp. 69–70). The membership of MUI consists of representatives from different Muslim organizations in Indonesia such as NU, Muhammadiyah, Al-Irsyad, Perti and others (see chapter Four), as well as some experts from various fields (Hosen, 2004, pp. 151–152; Komisi Informasi dan Komunikasi MUI, 2019b). According to Hosen (2004), the diversity of the members' background contributes to the MUI's being "full of colour" (p. 157). Nevertheless, Saat (2021) states, although MUI leaders often claim that MUI members come from various Islamic organizations in Indonesia, in fact it was run by 'dissappointed' NU and Muhammadiyah leaders as well as some academics and independent ulama.

There are at least four main tasks of the MUI. First, giving guidance for the Muslim communities in Indonesia in accordance with Islamic teaching. Second, providing *fatwa*s and advises both for the government and the Muslim community, particularly on religious issues, and maintaining a good relationship and unity of the Muslim society in Indonesia. Third, mediating the government and Muslim society in Indonesia. Fourth, improving relationships between Muslim organizations, various institutions, and Muslim scholars in giving religious guidance. Thus, MUI should represent various voices of Indonesian Muslim (Hosen, 2004, p. 152; Kaptein, 2004; Komisi Informasi dan Komunikasi MUI, 2019b; Lindsey, 2012; Mudzhar, 1993, pp. 47–48). In the beginning of its establishment, MUI is often criticized for not representing the interest of Muslims and merely a tool for the government to control Muslims. It was only after the collapse of the new regime era that MUI became more independent and fought for the interest of Islam (Tifada & Mahabarata, 2021). However, the task of MUI to maintain religious harmony and represent various voices of Muslims in Indonesia are also often criticized by many scholars. The *fatwas* of MUI are sometimes criticized for being conservative, controversial, and intolerant to minority groups (Nadzir, 2019; Riana et al., 2021; Tifada & Mahabarata, 2021). For instance, in 1984, MUI issued a fatwa to increase awareness of the teachings of the Shi'a group (muidigital, 2017b). In 2005, MUI also declared the deviant of the Ahmadiyah group (muidigital, 2017a). Both *fatwas* helped in triggering tension among Muslims in Indonesia. Like the *fatwa*s of LBMNU and *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*, the *fatwa*s of MUI are published in a compilation of book and through the MUI official website.

The general tasks of local *kyai* or individual ulama and fatwa bodies such as LBMNU, MTT, and MUI are giving religious guidance, issuing *fatwa*, and leading Muslim communities. In these *fatwa* bodies, local *kyai* or ulama may establish their legitimacy. They have the right to give opinions and participate in decision making. However, in some cases, some of them may disagree with the *fatwa*s or decisions issued by the fatwa bodies and prefer to maintain their own opinions. For instance, when the NU organization decided not to participate in the campaign for the implementation of *Syari'ah* (Ar., *Syarī'ah* meaning canon law), some local ulama argued that implementing *Syari'ah* is the obligation of every Muslim. In the Muhammadiyah community, when the organization interpreted some verses of the

Qur'an concerning building a good relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims, some local *ulama* opposed this interpretation (Machasin, 2010, p. 120).

Besides having different opinions with the *fatwa*s or decisions made by the *fatwa* bodies within organizations, some local ulama also challenged *fatwa* given by the MUI. For instance, in March 1981, the MUI issued a *fatwa* regarding the prohibition of attending Christmas celebrations for Muslims. Nevertheless, some ulama rejected this *fatwa* and argued that attending the celebrations could maintain good relationships with non-Muslims. Hence, this contestation occurred owing to a number of reasons. First, some ulama viewed the *fatwa* bodies as their competitors in the field of religious authority. Second, there might have been economic interests, political motives, or other matters. Different conditions faced by ulama and the availability and accessibility of *fatwa* to others could also have been other factors in the contestation (Kaptein, 2004; Machasin, 2010; A. Tayob, 2010). In fact, there is always more than one opinion on religious issues. Furthermore, *fatwa*s are not legally binding, and every Muslim has the right to decide which *fatwa* he/she wants to follow. Therefore, every Muslim is free to accept or reject *fatwa* given by local ulama or fatwa institutions. Nevertheless, in the opinion of Kaptein, the charisma of a particular ulama may have a significant role for Muslims in accepting or rejecting a *fatwa* (Kaptein, 2004, p. 127).

Some of these *fatwa* institutions or religious organizations also provide education or training programs for prospective ulama. For instance, the central board of MUI, in collaboration with zakat institutions such as Badan Amil Zakat Nasional (BAZNAS) and Islamic higher institutions, initiates a program known as "*Kaderisasi Seribu Ulama*" (Thousand Ulama Cadre) (Soraya, 2020). MTT through Tarjih Muhammadiyah Ulama Education (*Pendidikan Ulama Tarjih Muhammadiyah*, PUTM) also provides specific programs and gives the scholarship to educate and train future Muhammadiyah ulama (Pendidikan Ulama Tarjih Muhammadiyah, 2020). Likewise, Nahdlatul Ulama holds an ulama cadre program with the aim of preparing the future *ulama* of NU (Rozali, 2019).

3.2.2.3 Media

In the 1800s, the modern printing press began to develop in the Islamic world, affecting Muslim religious ideas and practices and creating the fragmentation of religious authority in the Muslim society (Aqeel, 2009; Eickelman & Anderson, 1997; Kuitert, 2020; Robinson, 1993). On the one hand, it contributed to spread Islamic texts and to provide Muslims with easy access to Islamic knowledge. On the other hand, it emerged as a new source of Islamic learning and *fatwa* without having to turn directly to ulama as religious authority. Thus, everyone could speak for Islam, as pointed out by Robinson:

> Ironically, while print enabled ulama greatly to extend their influence in public affairs, it was also doing serious damage to the roots of their authority. By printing the Islamic classics, and the print run for a major text could be as many as ten thousand copies, and by translating them into the vernaculars they undermined their authority; they were no longer necessarily around when the book was read to make up for the absence of the author in the text; their precious ijazahs, which brought the

> authority of the past to their learning in the present, were made less significant; their monopoly of the transmission of knowledge was broken. Books, which they literally possessed, which they carried in their hearts, and which they transmitted with a whole series of mnemonic aids to memory, could now be consulted by any Ahmad, Mahmud, or Muhammad, who could make what they will of them. Increasingly from now on any Ahmad, Mahmud, and Muhammad could claim to speak for Islam (Robinson, 1993, p. 245).

In Indonesia, the rising use of the printing press and the spreading of its products such as journals, newspapers, and books gave Muslims another alternative in seeking *fatwa*. Journals and newspapers had a special column for providing *fatwa*, many Islamic books printed in the Middle East distributed among Indonesian Muslims (Burhanudin, 2007, 2010). In addition, Muslims began to learn Islamic tenets without having to stay in a *pesantren* or Islamic learning institution (Dhofier, 1982). Accordingly, a *kyai* was no longer the only source of religious guidance and learning any longer.

Besides the printing press products, the expansion of modern mass communication media such as radio and TV, and the advancement of the internet as a new medium means that religious authority has become far more pluralized. Sunarwoto (2015) and Muzakki (2008) demonstrate how radio and TV have played important roles in creating religious authority, in challenging the authority of *kyai* or traditional ulama and popularizing Muslims preachers without *pesantren* background. Furthermore, those who cannot read Arabic can also be called ulama. Saat (2018) calls this legitimation "popular legitimacy" (p. 58).[19]

> It cannot be denied that radio stations play an important role in making a preacher known to public. They can 'baptize' a guest speaker into a religious figure, for instance, by dubbing him with the title kyai or *ustaz* only because he speaks about religion or often cites religious texts (Sunarwoto, 2015, p. 112).

> Religious authority among Indonesian Muslims is now no longer being dominated by those who have traditional *pesantren* as the educational background, but is rather represented by Muslims who do not have cultural basis of traditional *pesantren* but manage to open and maximise access to religious education [...] Their capability in mass communication allows them to move from the lower or middle class to the upper in socio-religious hierarchy and thus become a new group of religious elite (Muzakki, 2008, p. 208).

Like radio and TV, the internet also plays an essential role in popularising some preachers and creating "new religious figures" (Haryanto, 2018; Kusuma, 2018; Sunarwoto, 2015; D. Wahid, 2012). A number of preachers have become famous through radio, TV, and internet media such as Zainuddin M.Z. (1952-2011), Ahmad Sukina (1948-2021), Abdullah Gymnastiar (known as Aa Gym), Arifin Ilham (1969-2019), Yusuf Mansur, Abdul Somad,

[19] According to Saat, some factors may boost popular legitimacy. For instance, by being the son or student of a prominent *syaikh* of a Sufi order, by carrying the term sayyid in his name, and by having the ability to heal illness and possessing mystical or magical powers (Saat, 2018, p. 58).

Khalid Basalamah, Adi Hidayat, Hannan Attaki.[20] Many of them were not linked to prominent Muslim organizations such as Muhammadiyah and NU. The emergence of these preachers attracts and influences Muslims across Indonesia by providing different ways of *dakwah* and giving *tanya jawab agama* sessions during their *dakwah*.

With the increasing use of the internet in Indonesia, people can also easily seek any information regarding religious issues. Previously, the information related to religious issues could be found through Islamic books or *kitab kuning,* taught in Islamic institutions such as *pesantren* and *madrasah* or provided by individual ulama. As Hosen (2008) states, religious issues can easily be accessed via Google and given by online religious scholars via e-fatwa. This has created the opportunity for individual persons outside "the group of local ulama" to become religious authorities. In addition to popular preachers, new religious authorities have emerged in Indonesia from different communities such as political parties like the Prosperous Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*, PKS) or Salafi movement community. Some Muslims in Indonesia also referred to foreign ulama such as a global *mufti* Yusuf Qaradawi and Saudi Arabia state Mufti Abdul Aziz ibn Baz (Feillard, 2010; Hermansen, 2014; Kaptein, 2004; D. Wahid, 2012).

Some of these new religious intellectuals act as religious authorities without attending *pesantren* for years as local *kyai* do. However, some of them have graduated from Islamic institutions such as al-Azhar University in Egypt, or STAIN, IAIN and UIN in Indonesia. With the emergence of the new religious intellectuals, although the traditional ulama (male) might still be considered as a religious authority, they no longer hold a monopoly (Hosen, 2008; Jabali, 2006). Najib Burhani (2018) argues that the fragmentation of religious authority in Indonesia was strongly felt during the 'defending Islam action' (*aksi bela Islam*) against the former Jakarta governor, Ahok. Some Muslims, in particular members of Muslim organizations, prefer to follow the advice of popular preachers such as Rizieq Syihab, Aa Gym, and Yusuf Mansur instead of following the decision of the *ulama* within the organizations whose guidance were followed before (Burhani, 2018b).

Although modernization – in particular the development of the media – challenges the authority of individual male ulama, many of them manage to maintain their positions of authority. The traditional ulama continue to exist and play a crucial role in negotiating religious space within Muslim societies in Indonesia, in particular within their local contexts. Many Muslims, particularly in rural areas, still refer to *kyai* for religious guidance. They believe that seeking religious guidance from *kyai* can be a source of blessing in addition to getting religious knowledge (Burhani, 2018; Burhanudin, 2007, 2010; Hosen, 2008; Kaptein, 2004; Machasin, 2010; Smith, & Woodward, 2014, p. 7; Tayob, 2010).

In recent years, Muslim organizations and ulama from *pesantren* communities attempt to adapt to modernity and try to embrace the technologies to promote Islamic knowledge and gain their authority. Many of them represent Islam through the printing press,

[20] A survey conducted by Yayasan Mata Air and Alfara Research Centre between September and October 2017 shows that out of 1200 Muslims who took part in the survey, more than 75 % considered Abdullah Gymnastiar, Arifin Ilham, and Yusuf Mansur as the most famous religious figures. These religious figures got recognition through their activities which were popularized by various media such as television, radio, newspaper, or internet (Yayasan Mata Air & Alvara Research Center, 2017).

radio, TV, and internet. Mass Muslim organizations like NU and Muhammadiyah have their own radio and online TV and disseminating *fatwa* through internet websites. Moreover, some virtual *pesantren* and *ngaji* online (online religious study) programs have emerged. Since 2020, when the Covid-19 pandemic made face to face teaching difficult, a great number of *kyai*s conduct online Islamic learning programs via different kinds of social media platforms such as Instagram, YouTube, Facebook, and others (Abdurrahman, 2020; Gumilang, 2020; Ilaihi, 2019; Kurniawan, 2019; Qusyairi, 2020; Syakir, 2020). The engagement of *kyai* or traditional (male) ulama with online education did not change their charismatic power as local leaders as have been shown in the study conducted by (Rahman, 2015).

3.2.2.4 Female Religious Authority

As already discussed briefly in chapter One, in recent years, many Muslim women have achieved status as religious authorities in Islam and play significant roles within Muslim societies (Kloos & Künkler, 2016; Minesaki, 2012; Nielsen, 2019; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006). The positions of religious authority have been dominated by men throughout Islamic history. However, Kalmbach (2012, p. 1) shows that for over thirty years, Muslim women in many parts of the Islamic world from the Middle East; North, East, West and South Africa; Central, South, Southeast, and East Asia, Europe, and North America publicly speak for Islam (p. 1). As explained also in chapter One, within the Indonesian context, women have been pursuing their careers in public spaces and achieving recognition as religious authorities since the beginning of the twentieth century. In other words, according to Bintari (2018) and van Doorn-Harder (2006), the opportunity for women to gain positions as religious authorities and pursue their career in the Indonesian context is greater, compared to chance found in other Muslim countries.

Modernity gives women the opportunity to earn an education and establish their career beyond the domestic sphere. Hefner (2009) points out that in Indonesia, until the 1910s, girls only attended Qur'anic study (*pengajian al-Qur'an*) in *langgar* or mosques, which was considered as the oldest form of Islamic education. They were not allowed to take part in the *pesantren* education, where the advanced study on Islamic knowledge was offered. In the 1920s and 1930s, some *madrasah*s in West Sumatra such as Diniyyah Putri School or "Madrasah Diniyyah li al-Banāt" and in Java such as "Madrasah Muallimat" were founded and provided religious education for women (as explained in chapter One). In the early 1930s, some *pesantren*s also began to admit female students (Hefner, 2009; Smith & Woodward, 2014). Therefore, Muslim women could study advanced Islamic knowledge and were recognised as religious authorities. In recent years, *pesantren* and *madrasah* have become common educational institutions where parents send their daughters for their education. There are roughly the same number of female and male students in *pesantren* and madrasah. Some *pesantren*s or *madrasah*s even have more female students than male (R. W. Hefner, 2009, p. 180).

Female religious authorities in Indonesia are primarily female ulama. But, who is regarded as an 'female ulama' is often unclear. There is no agreement among scholars

regarding this matter. Since 1980, the term *ulama perempuan* has been used for female religious preachers in the "Journal Mimbar" published by MUI. In the book of "Ulama Perempuan Indonesia" published by Gramedia and PPIM UIN Jakarta in 2002 as explained by Azra (2002), female ulama includes female university lecturers who master Islamic knowledge known and are known as *ulama kampus*; female religious figures who are active in a *pesantren* circle (*ulama pesantren*), female religious figures within a religious organization (*ulama organisasi sosial keagamaan)*, female religious figures within a socio political party called (*ulama aktifis sosial politik*), and for female preachers (*ulama tabligh*) (p. xxxii). Rahima (Centre for Education and Information on Islam and the Rights of Women), an Indonesian non-governmental organization which has established a female *ulama* cadre program, on the other hand, uses the term *ulama perempuan* for those who have general knowledge and expertise (Ismah, 2016).

Although the opportunity of Muslim women to participate in the public sphere, particularly in religious space and become female ulama in the Indonesian context is greater, previously, many of them were not known as ulama by the society. Several factors were believed to be the reasons. First, according to Burhanudin (2002, p. ix), only a few numbers of these female ulama were involved in the formation of intellectual discourses by writing books. Books published in 1999, for instance, showed that women only contributed 5 to 18% of the books circulating in public. Second, the lack of education and training, especially on classical Islamic knowledge, was the cause that those women could not meet the criteria to become ulama. Kloos and Künkler (2016) point out that charisma alone is not sufficient for people to be recognized as ulama. Instead, they have to attend formal education or training in Islamic knowledge.

Third, although they could fulfil the requirement to become ulama and play a significant role in Muslim society, only a few of them engaged with a broader audience. In addition, research or publications regarding these women were rare, meaning the ulama-ness of these women unrecognized. Fourth, the family background such as being the wife or daughter of male ulama was important. Therefore, many well-known female ulama in the past were from the family of *kyai* or male ulama, particularly among the traditionalist Muslim communities. Fifth, in many Muslim communities, believers preferred to turn to male *ulama* and regarded their interpretation of Islamic texts as more authoritative (Azra, 2002; Burhanudin, 2002; Indriati, 2014; Ismah, 2016; Kloos & Künkler, 2016; Syukur, 2018).

In recent years, however, many of them receive recognition as female ulama within local, national, or international settings. They have participated in the formation of Islamic discourse by publishing popular works such as Zakiah Daradjat (1926-2013) who wrote several books on Islamic psychology, Huzaemah Tahido Yanggo on comparative *fikih*, women *fikih*, and Amany Lubis on Islamic political history. Also, they are engaged in interpreting or reinterpreting Islamic texts and issuing *fatwa* (Ismah, 2016; Nisa, 2019; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006). For instance, some of them have been appointed as members of a *fatwa* institutions and given the same rights as male ulama. Within the LBMNU body, Huzaemah Tahido Yanggo sat as the advisory board of the central LBMNU for the period of 2015-2020 (Fathoni, 2015a). In 2022, some NU women were chosen as the LBMNU central boards,

they are Alai Nadjib, Iffah Umniyati Ismail, Sri Mulyati, and Atikah Anwar iskandar (Syakir, 2022; Triono, 2022)

In the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*, female ulama have been selected as executives since 1995. Chamamah Soeratno and Elyda Djasman were the first female ulama in the MTT executives. In 2015, five women were chosen as the MTT central executives (Majelis Tarjih&Tajdid PP Muhammadiyah, 2020). Within the MUI, women have been appointed as the central boards of the institution for a long time (Hosen, 2004; Kaptein & Laffan, 2002). For example, Huzaemah was appointed as one of the MUI leaders in 2000. In 2015, she became the head of *fatwa* division – one of the most important divisions – in the MUI. Amany Lubis, one of the Muslimat NU central boards, was elected as women, youth, and family division of MUI (Humas Institut, 2014; Komisi Informasi dan Komunikasi MUI, 2019a). For the 2020-2025 period of the MUI board, Amany Lubis was selected as one of the organization's leaders (Permana, 2020; Tim detikcom, 2020). In April 2017, more than 1,000 female ulama participated in the first Indonesian female ulama congress and involved in issuing a collective *fatwa*, as mentioned in chapter One (Nisa, 2019; Syukur, 2018). According to van Doorn-Harder, these women are "deeply involved in the complex Indonesian discourse on Muslim women" (Van Doorn-Harder, 2006, p. 4).

Recently, many female ulama have undergone training in Islamic educational institutions such as *pesantren*s, *madrasah*s, and Islamic institutes or universities and become intellectual activists with deep Islamic knowledge. The Indonesian government, through The Ministry of Religious Affairs, *fatwa* institutions, and non-governmental organizations such as Rahima also provide training for women to become ulama (Subekti, 2015; Uswatun, 2016). There is an increasing number of women experts in Islamic knowledge in Indonesia (Burhanudin, 2002; Husin, 2014; Indriati, 2014; Khotimah, 2017; Kloos, D., & Künkler, 2016; Kloos, 2016; Rahman, 2015; Razak & Mundzir, 2019; Roviana, 2014; Smith & Hamdi, 2014; Srimulyani, 2012, 2014; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006; Zainuddin, 2017).

Many of these women experts play a major role in different fields. For example, many of them occupy positions as leaders of Islamic institutions and universities which enables them to make decisions regarding curriculum, facilities, and other developments of the institutions. They are also appointed as judges in Islamic court which empower their position to make a decision on various problems regarding Muslim people based on Islamic law. Within traditional Islamic institution such as *pesantren* which is known by its patriarchal culture, a *kyai* usually leads the institution and becomes the centre of the institution. Some studies, however, reveal that *nyai* also share the same degree of influence. They are actively involved in the leadership of the institution and in establishing a wider Muslim community. Masriyah Amva, for instance, became the leader of a famous *pesantren* in Cirebon West Java where the first Indonesian congress of female ulama was held. Nonoh Hasanah established women-only *pesantren,* which provided Islamic knowledge. Likewise, Rahmah el-Yunusiyah (1900-1969), the first Indonesian women who received the title of *syaikhah* from the University of al-Azhar, developed a women-only *madrasah* in Padang Panjang West Sumatra (Burhanudin, 2002; Nisa, 2019; Razak & Mundzir, 2019). Some women also gained a position as University rectors such as Huzaemah Tahido Yanggo who was a rector of Qur'an Studies Institute (Institut Ilmu al-Qur'an, IIQ) (Humas Institut, 2014), and Amany

Lubis who became a rector of UIN Jakarta in 2019 (Azhar/Din, 2019). The number of female judges in Islamic courts has also increased since 1989. According to Nurlaelawati and Salim (2013), these female judges have the same rights and position as their male counterparts.

Besides their involvement in Islamic institutions, many Muslim women are recognized as female ulama because of their activities as religious teachers or preachers. According to Burhanudin (2007), most of the female ulama in Indonesia start their careers as religious teachers or preachers from a religious congregation for women only (p. 256). From this women-only congregation, they expand their role to mixed-gender audiences and achieve a greater position within society. For instance, Tutty Alawiyah, the former minister of State for Women's Empowerment was well-known as a preacher of Majelis Taklim and the founder of Majelis Taklim Asy-Syafiiyah and Islamic institutions. Suryani Thahir was also a preacher who founded Majelis Taklim for women and Islamic educational institutions, as described in chapter One (Burhanudin, 2002). Some of them are known as ulama by becoming female leader of Sufi order (*mursyidah*), particularly in the *pesantren* circle, where spiritual power is integrated with production of knowledge (Smith, 2014, p. 83). Among these women are Nyai Chamnah, a prominent figure of Tijaniah Sufi Order from Cirebon and Nyai Tholibah, a *mursyidah* of Nakhsybandiah Sufi order from Madura island (Burhanudin, 2002; Van Bruinessen, 1998b). They take part in communal religious rituals within their societies and lead the rituals.

The roles played by the Muslim women in Indonesia as members of *fatwa* institutions; leaders of Islamic institutions such as *pesantren*s, *madrasah*s, institutes, and universities; judges at Islamic courts; religious teachers or advisers; preachers and founders of *majelis taklim*; and Sufi leaders enable them to be recognized as religious authorities. These women gain the position of authority because they hold Islamic religious authority capital such as having Islamic educations and training, involving in Islamic discourse, having good network, charisma, and piety. Being in one of the above positions enables them to accumulate and exhibit more capital. Among the aforementioned capital, Ismah (2016) argues that community-based authority which means authority within local community circles is among the most important factors in establishing authority for Muslim women (p. 501). It is built and strengthened by and within the local community. Having cultural capital such as being educated in Islamic institutions and trained as ulama is not enough. To gain a position of religious authority, Muslim women should have the ability to lead their local community, give religious advice, and solve various religious and social problems. She states that:

> The community-based authority of female ulama may challenge the male-dominated religious authority. The participation of female ulama may destabilise the unequal relations between men and women by stressing a gender-equal interpretation of Islamic knowledge, practices and religious texts, including Al-Quran, hadith and *kitab kuning*. (Ismah, 2016, p. 505)

As well as men, for women to gain position as religious authority in the Indonesian context, they should demonstrate cultural capital as well as social capital. However, as Ismah argues,

having the ability to lead a local community and involving in religious or social activities in this local community circle is among the most important thing for Muslim women to establish position as female ulama.

The development of media helps the ulama-ness of these Muslim women recognized by Indonesian society. In recent years, female ulama, including those who come from the *pesantren* community utilize various kinds of media in delivering Islamic knowledge, spreading their ideas, and competing with male ulama (Burhanudin, 2007, p. 256; Khodafi, 2015). For instance, some of them provide Islamic knowledge and give *tanya jawab agama* session through TV programs such as Dedeh Rosidah known as Mamah Dedeh who is famous for being a preacher through a TV broadcast called "Mamah and Aa", Oki Setiana Dewi who offers religious advice through an Indonesian TV program called "Islam itu Indah" (Islam is beautiful) and through her personal YouTube channel. A research conducted by Khodafi (2015) also shows how female preachers from the Muslimat NU community in East Java have regular spots on TV9 entitled "Apa Kata Bu Nyai" (What does Bu Nyai Say?). In her study about female ulama within the Nahdlatul Ulama community, Jannah (2019) concludes that media, in particular new media helped women gain recognition from the society and attract many followers. Accordingly, their opportunity to achieve a position as religious authority was greater.

3.3 Ritual in Javanese Muslim Culture: Diversity and change

The above section indicates the way in which Indonesian Muslim men and women achieve positions as an authority figure in the religious sphere. It also reveals the important roles they play both in religious and non-religious contexts. Within Muslim society in Indonesia, ulama are the interpreters of religious texts, the leaders of Islamic institutions, the religious preachers, teachers, and the religious guardians. These ulama are tasked in interpreting Islamic texts within local contexts, giving religious advice, determining orthodoxy and orthopraxy of Islamic beliefs and rituals. In the ritual practices, local ulama attempt to determine what is ritually proper according to Islamic tenets in the various given contexts. Thus, sometimes, these rituals are conducted differently from one place to another, and from one community to another.

3.3.1 Javanese Islam

In his book "The Religion of Java", Geertz proposes three variants of Javanese Islam namely the "*abangan*", "*santri*", and "*priyayi*" which represent three main social-structural cores: the village, the market, and the government bureaucracy. The *abangan* variant is characterized by the integration of animist, Hindu-Buddhist, and Islamic elements. The *santri* group is described as more 'orthodox' Muslims, and the *priyayi* is identified with the elite group, which is influenced by Hindu-Buddhist values (Geertz, 1976, pp. 4–5).

This trichotomy, however, is criticized by some scholars who argue that *abangan* and *santri* terms refer to religious outlook, while the term *priyayi* refers to the social status

which is opposed to *wong cilik* (common people). Some *priyayi* are *santri*, and others are *abangan*. The same goes for *wong cilik* who can be *abangan* or *santri* (Burhani, 2017; Dhofier, 1978; Koentjaraningrat, 1963, pp. 188–189; Nakamura, 2012, pp. 16–17; Noer, 1973, p. 19). Koentjaraningrat (1960, p. 88) further indicates that the social stratification of Javanese society comprises two variants, horizontal and vertical. The horizontal variant – based on social aspects, world views as well as political and economic orientations – consists of *ndara* (nobles), *priyayi* (bureaucrats and administrative staff), *wong dagang* (merchants), and *wong cilik* (common people). On the other hand, the vertical variant includes aspects of religious beliefs and traditions. Within the Javanese Muslim society this variant in general consists of *santri* and *abangan.*

Instead of using *abangan* and *santri*, some scholars use different terms because the term *abangan* is often perceived by nominal Muslims as a derogatory term (Burhani, 2017, p. 335). Koentjaraningrat (1985), for instance, applies the term "*agami Jawi*" and "*agami Islam santri*" and Hefner (1985) uses the term "*kejawen*" in the place of *abangan*. *Agami Jawi* or *kejawen* represents "an extensive complex of mystically inclined Hindu-Buddhist beliefs and concepts, syncretistically integrated in an Islamic frame of reference" or nominal Muslim. According to Koentjaraningrat (1985), many of these Javanese Muslims have little commitment on Islamic teachings. On the other hand, *agami Islam santri* represents more devout Muslim group who is much closer to the formal tenets of Islam (p. 318).

The division of Javanese Islam into *abangan* or *kejawen* and *santri,* nevertheless may not be as neat as scholars have portrayed. There is a middle position or a grey area between this division (Beatty, 1999, p. 4; Cederroth, 1995, p. 271; Geertz, 1976, pp. 162–163; Syam, 2005). Besides, different interpretations within each variant may create other various groups. Dzuhayatin (2015) identifies several variants within the *santri* group. From a theological aspect, there are traditional *santri* who tend to follow the opinions of *mazhab*s and more adaptive to pre-Islamic local cultures, and *puritan santri* who tend to reject local cultures. From a political perspective, there are *ndara santri, priyayi santri,* and *ordinary santri.* From a geographical aspect, there are rural and urban *santri.* The last category is based on their economic aspects consists of *priyayi santri,* merchant *santri,* and peasant *santri.*

Similarly, Van Doorn-Harder also points out that there are some variants within the *santri* community (2006), they are conservative or traditionalist *santri*, modernist *santri,* renewalist *santri* who combines between traditionalist and modernist teachings, and Islamists *santri* who are considered more literalists. The Nahdlatul Ulama are considered to be closest to the abangan or kejawen, while Muhammadiyah is viewed as being closer to puritan or modernist *santris*. However, some studies reveal that the division does not only occur within the *santri* community, but it also happens within each *santri* variant. For instance, some modernists are not anti-Javanese customs, and maintain some elements of the Javanese culture or practice the Javanese rituals (Beck, 1995; Burhani, 2004; Cederroth, 1991, 1995; Kersten, 2015; Kim, 1996; Nakamura, 2012). A research conducted by Munir Mulkhan within the Muhammadiyah community in the region of Jember East Java province shows that some Muhammadiyah members rejected Javanese traditions while others chose to practice local Javanese cultures (Mulkhan, 2010).

3.3.2 Javanese Muslim Rituals

3.3.2.1 Slametan

Most scholars of Javanese culture such as Geertz (1976), Hefner (1985), Koentjaraningrat (1985), and Beatty (1999) agree that *slametan* is an important ritual that lies at the heart of the Javanese religion. The word *slametan* derives from the Arabic word *salima yaslamu salāman salāmatan,* meaning peace or safety (al-maany.com). *Slametan* is a communal feast meal, popular among Javanese Muslims. It is said to be the strong unifying factor in the Javanese society shared by *kejawen* and some *santris* or can function as a "theological bridge" between *kejawen* and *santri.* When a *kejawen* family holds a *slametan*, he/she invites a *santri* to lead *doa*. Likewise, when *santri* people conduct a *slametan*, the *kejawen* people from the same neighbourhood are invited. *Slametan* can be conducted independently or as part of bigger ceremonies. It can be given in response to essential stages of an individual's life, such as during the rites of passages, calendrical rituals, house moving, illness, or when someone needs *doa* regarding particular purposes. Hefner (1985) points out that the practice of *slametan* could be a few minutes to a few days and might involve a small number of people in one neighbourhood to more than hundreds (p. 142). *Slametan* aims to achieve the condition of *slamet*, state of wellbeing, physically or psychologically (Beatty, 1999; R. W. Hefner, 1985; Hilmy, 1999; Ismawati, 2000; Muhaimin, 2006, p. 136; Mulder, 1983; Sofwan, 2000; Woodward, 1988). Apart from the term *slametan*, other terms like *kenduren*,[21] *sadaqahan*[22], and *tasyakuran*[23] are sometimes used for the communal feast meal ritual.

Slametan can be classified into two forms: they are elementary *slametan* which is conducted by individuals or families and elaborate or state *slametan,* which is held collectively by a group of people. The individual or family *slametan* is usually held at the house of a particular family. It is usually a male only affair, as only the male members of the household attend the event except on the pregnancy ritual occasions. The guests are usually neighbours, acquaintances, and relatives who live nearby. Unlike the individual *slametan*, the elaborate *slametan* is usually authorized by certain local institutions such as Yogyakarta and Surakarta Palace (Hilmy, 1999, p. 59).

Slametan has a similar pattern, which is mostly conducted in the same way over time. As Van den Boogert (2017) indicates in his article, despite the practices of *slametan* has evolved over time and displays regional differences, pieces of literature regarding

[21] According to Jones as cited by Kim, the term *kenduren* is derived from Persian language *kanduri*, meaning feast. Most people used the term *kenduren* and slametan for the same meaning, i.e., communal feast. Others, especially the modernist group of *santri* Javanese prefer to use the word *kenduren* or *kenduri*. The word *kenduri* is used globally, in particular by Asian people, while the word *slametan* is mostly used by Javanese society (Kim, 1996).

[22] *Sadaqahan* comes from the Arabic word *sadaqa* meaning alms or charity. It includes all benevolent actions such as distributing foods to the poor, neighbours, and relatives (Khusen, 2013, p. 291). In some places, such as in Bayu village where Beatty conducted his ethnography, people used the term *slametan* and *sadaqahan* differently. While the term s*lametan* was used for a communal meal event for living, the term *sadaqah* (*sedekah*) was used for a prayer meal for the dead (Beatty, 1999, p. 30).

[23] *Tasyakuran* means a celebration to express thankfulness to God because something has gone safely and peacefully. For example, when someone is released from a difficult situation or serious illness.

slametan shows this similar structure. Study conducted by Koentaraningrat (1985, pp. 346–348) on Javanese culture, and the discussion of Islam and Javanese acculturation in the *slametan* ritual written by Hilmy (1999, pp. 54–59) for instance, describe how a *slametan* is conducted by Javanese people in a similar way. Some ethnographies such as studies conducted by Geertz (1976, pp. 12–13) in a rural Javanese area, Woodward (1988, pp. 70–81) in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, Hefner (1985, pp. 105–109) in Tengger highlands East Java province, Kim (1996, pp. 112–115) in a hamlet (*dusun*) namely Kolojonggo in the Yogyakarta province, and Beatty (1999, pp. 31–32) in the village of Bayu the region of Banyuwangi East Java province, show this similarity. The guests were invited by being addressed in person. *Slametans* was mostly held after sunset. When the guests arrived, particular *slametan* foods were on display in the living room, and incense was burned. *Slametan* began with so-called *ujub* (invocation) which was delivered by the host before a *modin* (religious official) or a *kyai* led *doa*. When the *doa* was over, the *modin* or *kyai* was invited to start the meal followed by other guests. At the end of *slametan*, the host distributed food packages to be taken home, which was called *berkat,* meaning blessing from the Arabic word *barakah.*

The above-mentioned literature and research indicate that *slametan* includes three important components: they are *ujub*, *doa*, and a meal or food. *Ujub* is the statement of the purpose of the *slametan*. In this opportunity, the host gives a brief speech welcoming the guests, expressing his gratitude for the attendance of the guests, describing the intention of the *slametan* and appealing apologize for all the shortcomings of the event. Woodward (1988) states that *kejawen* people used to mention some saints and spirit who had been invited in the *slametan* ceremony during the *ujub* speech, while *santri* people used to mention Arabic saints (p. 76). However, according to Hefner (1985), more 'orthodox' Muslims tend to avoid this practice entirely, and the *ujub* speech is usually done only to express gratitude and apologize from the host (p. 107).

The second element of *slametan* is *doa*. This is an Arabic prayer which is selected from the Qur'anic verses or other Islamic texts. Particular verses which are suitable for each occasion are often selected in the *doa*, but the beginning *surah* of the Qur'an, al-Fātiḥah, is considered essential and commonly read for *doa* among Muslims throughout the world, including the Javanese Muslims during *slametan*. It is ideally performed by a *modin* or a *kyai*. Nevertheless, in the absence of the *modin* or *kyai,* anyone who knows Arabic may lead the *doa* (Hilmy, 1999, p. 57; Woodward, 1988, p. 78). Both *kejawen* and *santri* people recognize the importance of this Islamic prayer. After having finished reciting the *doa*, the *slametan* ritual is often extended with performing *zikir,* particularly in a village society and within a *santri* community during the rituals of death. The *zikir* may last for one or several hours (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 348; Woodward, 1988, p. 80).

Another essential part of *slametan* is a communal meal. Various kinds of food are prepared by the host. Of these foods, *tumpeng* (yellow rice cone) with side dishes of some vegetables, egg, meat; *apem* (rice flour pancake); and porridge are the most common given food. According to Beatty (1999), minimal *slametan* food usually consists of red and white porridge (p. 38). At the *kejawen* people's *slametan*, incense and *sajen* offerings are also prepared accompanied to these foods. The *sajen* may be as simple as a few flower petals or

include various foods, drinks, and other items appropriate for the occasion (Woodward, 2011, p. 123). *Kejawen* people believe that when the incense is burned, the invited spirit can enjoy its essence. On the other hand, at the *slametan* ceremony held by the *santri* people, the foods are placed in the kitchen until the ceremony has completed. The foods are no longer shared with spirits, as *kejawen* people believe. Instead, they are given to the poor people of the neighbourhood. Besides, burning incense and *sajen* are removed from the ceremony (van den Boogert, 2017, p. 355).

Scholars have different opinions about the essential part of the slametan ceremony. Some of them, such as Woodward (1988), considers doa as the most important. Others like Beatty regards ujub and the shared meal as the core of the slametan ritual (Beatty, 1999, p. 44). Scholars also do not agree on whether the slametan ceremony is regarded as syncretic or Islamic. Geertz (1976) indicates that slametan has a syncretic character because it represents the animistic belief in spirits and their influence on human's life. Woodward (1988), on the other hand, argues that it has an Islamic character. He states that slametan is not a syncretic practice, but it is a locally defined Muslim rite (p. 134). It is said that Sunan Kalijaga, one of the nine saints who brought Islam to Java, was the one who took the initiative to remove some pre-Islamic elements in the local slametan and substituted it with Islamic values. Besides Woodward, Muhaimin (2006) is another thinker who argues that slametan is essentially Islamic. He says that *slametan* has its roots in Islamic sources directly or indirectly, and Muslims also practice it in different places of the world (p. 138).

In the view of Hilmy (1999), the conclusion made by Geertz regarding the syncretic characteristic of slametan may be reasonable because the kejawen worldview was dominant by the time his research was conducted. A few decades later, when the ideological dominance of kejawen declined, and the influence of the santri community on the Javanese people expanded, a large number of the kejawen people are moving towards the category of santri. Consequently, the character of slametan has been changing into more 'Islamic' (p. 62). This declining syncretism due to Islamization process is also shown in the ethnographic studies of some authors such as Cederroth (1991), Kim (1996) and Nakamura (2012). According to van den Boogert (2017), "It seems that today the voices that consider the slametan to be an Islamic ritual are the loudest. The prevalence of this viewpoint may well be a consequence of the continuing Islamisation of Javanese daily life and its rituals" (p. 354).

Instead of arguing that slametan is syncretic or Islamic, some writers such as Hilmy (1999) attempt to follow a middle path. He argues that the Qur'an and hadith indeed justify some elements which are practiced in the slametan ritual. However, other elements of the slametan come from the Javanese culture. Hence, according to him, slametan is neither syncretic nor Islamic, but both elements are present (p. 103). Similar to Hilmy's view, Kim (1996) also explains that slametan can be regarded as syncretic if it contains the worship of deities and spirits, and asking for the help or blessing from these deities or spirits. On the other hand, if it contains Islamic practices, then its character is Islamic (p. 111).

The slametan ritual has become contested. As Cederroth (1991) implies in his anthropological study, the modernist santri group such as Muhammadiyah attempted to 'purify' Islamic belief and practices from 'non-Islamic' customs. Thus, local traditions, including slametan, were tending to be abandoned altogether. Separation is showed by this

group in their acculturation strategy (Berry, 1997). A study conducted by Kim in one of the Yogyakarta villages (1996) however, indicates that some of the modernist *santri* group practiced Javanese customs while attempting to reform these customs to a state that would conform to Islamic. Unlike the majority of the modernist santri groups, the traditionalist santri group such as Nahdlatul Ulama, which is known to be tolerant of some Javanese cultures, accept the Javanese customs if they are in accordance with Islamic teachings. In doing so, they try to add more Islamic meanings to the long-established Javanese rituals. This traditionalist and some modernist santri groups choose to maintain their original culture while interacting with Javanese cultures and selectively ac. Although the traditionalist and some modernist *santri* groups practice *slametan*, according to van den Boogert (2017), its character has changed from syncretic to religious or more precisely Islamic. There is no burning incense or sharing foods with deities, and the focus of slametan is on the doa. Therefore, the slametan has been an expression of Islamic piety (pp. 355-356).

The different practices of slametan in particular and other rituals in the Javanese Muslim society, in general, cannot be separated from the understanding of these santri groups who consider slametan as an expression of religious belief. To decide whether slametan and other rituals should be accepted and Islamised, or abandoned, the influence of religious authority figures such as kyai/nyai, ustaz/ustazah, or fatwa institutions, especially within their communities is essential. For instance, the Nahdlatul Ulama kyai/nyai and organization allow Muslims to conduct slametan and encourage its community to maintain local culture as long as it is in accordance with Islamic values (Muhammad, 2011). The Muhammadiyah organization, on the other hand, considers slametan as a non-Islamic practice which should be rejected (Majelis Tarjih & Tajdid PP Muhammadiyah, 2015, pp. 196–197 vol. 2) (see further chapter Four). All these phenomena affect the diversity of the Javanese Muslim ritual practices. Not only the ritual diversity is influenced by each group's, in particular religious authority figures' understanding of religious texts, modernity also makes the practices of the above rituals more manifold. For example, some rituals are adjusted or no longer practised. In addition, most of the ceremonial processes of the rituals have been changed into being more practical and faster (Ekowati, 2015; Kim, 1996).

3.3.2.2 Life Cycle Rituals

As in other cultures, Javanese people, whether they are *kejawen* or *santri,* celebrate important passages of their life. In these life cycle ceremonies, the *slametan* ritual is one of the essential parts (Beatty, 1999; Geertz, 1976; Jamhari, 2000; Koentjaraningrat, 1985; Mulder, 1983). The life cycle rituals practised by the Javanese are described below.

Pregnancy rituals

During pregnancy, major and minor rituals are held. The major pregnancy rituals are conducted in the third month, which is called *neloni* or fourth month, namely *ngupati* or *ngapati* and seventh month known as *tingkeban*. Meanwhile, the minor rituals are conducted

almost every month. *Neloni, ngupati* or *ngapati* ceremonies were not practised in the past and only held recently by the *santri* Muslim group, in particular the traditionalist. The word *neloni* comes from the Javanese language *telu* meaning three, while the word *mapati* is from the Javanese word *papat* meaning four. Some people call this ceremony *ngupati* from the Javanese word *kupat*.[24] The reason for choosing these periods of pregnancy is based on some Prophetic traditions such as a hadith narrated by al-Bukhārī (1997, bk. 59 hadith number 3208) which states that around this time, an angel is sent by God 'to blow the soul into the foetus'. He is then commanded to write down four matters: his sustenance, his life, his deeds, his happiness or sadness.[25] Therefore, some Javanese Muslims usually conduct this ritual by inviting people to perform devotional acts such as reciting the Qur'an and reading *doa* communally, as well as giving *sedekah* in order to seek God's blessing for the unborn baby (Adriana, 2012; Sholikhin, 2010; Syam, 2005).

Another important pregnancy ceremony, *mitoni* or *tingkeban*, occurs at the seventh month of pregnancy. The word *mitoni* comes from the Javanese word *pitu,* meaning seven (Utomo, 2007, p. 68) while the word *tingkeban* originated from the Javanese language *tingkeb* meaning complete (Utomo, 2007, p. 97). This ceremony has long-been practised by Javanese people who follow kejawen practices. According to Koentjaraningrat (1985), *santri* Javanese ignore this ritual (p. 206). Nevertheless, some literature shows that the *santri* community, in particular the traditionalist group conducts this *mitoni* ceremony (Sholikhin, 2010; Syam, 2005). The ritual of *mitoni* or *tingkeban* is usually held for the first child of the eldest daughter (Adriana, 2012, p. 243; Koentjaraningrat, 1985, pp. 352–353). An ethnographic study conducted by Geertz (1976) shows that the Modjokuto people held the ritual of *tingkeban* only for the first child (p. 38). Another research done by Mustaqim (2017) among the inhabitants of Wonorejo village in the regency of Demak Central Java indicates that this ritual was conducted only for the first child (p. 123). For the *kejawen* people, this ceremony is usually held on a particular day, i.e. *Setu* (Saturday) *wage*.[26] During the ceremony, various foods are prepared for this ritual such as *tumpeng*, different colours of porridge, *rujak* (Javanese salad contains different fruits mixed with peanut sauce and palm sugar). A leather *wayang* performance (traditional puppet theatre performance) is usually held at the evening of the *tingkeban* ceremony. Nevertheless, instead of the *wayang* performance, *santri* people prefer to hold an Islamic song performance (Geertz, 1976, pp. 38–40; Koentjaraningrat, 1985, pp. 352–353). In addition to the ceremonies above, when the

[24] *Kupat* is a traditional food made of rice wrapped inside a diamond shaped of coconut leaves. This food is usually provided during the fourth month pregnancy ritual and on the occasion of *Idul Fitri* at Syawal month.

[25] Narrated by Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd that the Prophet Muhammad said, "(The matter of the creation of) a human being is put together in the womb of the mother in forty days, and then he becomes a clot of thick blood for a similar period, and then a piece of flesh for a similar period. Then Allah sends an angel who is ordered to write four things. He is ordered to write down his (i.e., the new creature's) deeds, his livelihood, his (date of) death, and whether he will be blessed or wretched (in the Hereafter). Then the soul is breathed into him […]."

[26] The Javanese calendar contains multiple cycles. First, five-day week called *pasaran* cycle (market cycle), they are *legi, pahing, pon, wage,* and *kliwon*. Second, seven-day-long week based on Gregorian and Islamic days, they are *Senin* (Monday), *Selasa* (Tuesday), *Rebo* (Wednesday), *Kemis* (Thursday), *Jemuah* (Friday), *Setu* (Saturday), and *Ahad* (Sunday). Third, *wetonan* cycle which occurs when the *pasaran* cycle is superimposed with the common Gregorian days. For example, *Senin Pon*, *Selasa Wage, Rebo Kliwon* etc. *Selapanan* or sometimes called *weton* will repeat every 35 days. According to Javanese syncretic beliefs, this cycle has an important meaning in determining when the activity should or should not be done.

pregnancy reaches the ninth month, some Javanese also conduct a *slametan* called *mumuli sederek* or *nyangani* (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 354; Sholikhin, 2010, p. 28).

Birth, baby naming, haircutting, and ʿaqīqah ceremonies

When a baby is born, his/her father whispers *aẓān* (Ind., *azan* meaning call for prayer) into the baby's right ear and *iqāmah* (the second call for prayer) to his/her left's ear. The first ceremony held by the family after the birth of the baby is called *babaran*, *brokohan* or *procotan* (Geertz, 1976, p. 47; Koentjaraningrat, 1985, pp. 354–355; Sholikhin, 2010, pp. 94–105; Syam, 2005). According to Sholikhin (2010), among *santri* traditionalists, sometimes, after the baby is born, the parents come to the house of a *kyai* asking for his *doa* and blessing. Furthermore, many of them ask the *kyai* to give a name for the baby (p. 101).

The next ritual is called *nyepasari* or *sepasaran* which is held five or seven days after the childbirth. *Nyepasari* comes from the word *sepasar*, that is, the five days of the Javanese market week. This ceremony is often combined with baby naming, haircutting, and *ʿaqīqah* (sacrifice) ceremonies. *ʿAqīqah* is the Islamic tradition of the animal sacrifice – one sheep for a baby girl or two sheep for a baby boy – on the child's birth occasion. Usually, the *ʿaqīqah* is held on the seventh, fourteenth, or twenty first day after the birth of the child. This tradition is based on some Prophetic traditions such as a hadith narrated by al-Bukhārī (1997) that the Prophet Muhammad said "*ʿAqīqah* is to be offered for a (newly born) boy, so slaughter (an animal) for him, and relieve him of his suffering." (Book 71 hadith number 5471). Another hadith narrated by at-Tirmiżī (2007) indicates that the Prophet ordered his companions "for a boy, two sheep were sufficient, and for a girl one sheep" (Chapter 71 hadith number 1513).

Both *santri* and *kejawen* hold the *ʿaqīqah* ceremony. Nevertheless, according to Koentjaraningrat (1985), it is mostly practised by the *santri* community. Moreover, the emphasis of the ritual for both communities is different. For the *santri* community, the emphasis of this ceremony is on sacrificing goats, mostly two goats for a baby boy and one goat for a baby girl, whereas, for the *kejawen*, the focus of the ceremony is on the hair cutting rite (pp. 357, 395). In some places, such as in the village of Modjokuto where Geertz conducted his ethnography research, *nyepasari* ceremony was held with the *puputan* ceremony when the stub of the baby's umbilical cord falls off (Geertz, 1976, p. 48).

In addition to the ceremonies mentioned above, the next ceremony, *selapanan,*[27] is considered as another important birth ritual for the Javanese people. This ceremony is usually held when the new-born baby is thirty-five days old (Utomo, 2005, p. 19). A study conducted by Pramana (2013) in the village of Talang the regency of Klaten, Central Java, shows that the ritual of *selapanan* has been preserved by the inhabitants of the village. It was held when a baby was thirty-five days old. People in the neighbourhood of the host were invited. There, they read seven *surahs* of the Qur'an, i.e., al-Mulk, ar-Raḥmān, al-Fatḥ, al-Kahfi, Maryam, Yūsuf, and al-Wāqi'ah. Besides reading the Qur'an, the guests also recited *doa* asking for

[27] One of the birth ritual events conducted by Javanese people when a baby is 35 day-old. *Selapanan* comes from the word *selapan*. It is one of the calculations of Javanese time which occurs every 35 days.

God's blessing. In the ceremony, the baby's hair and nail also got cut. According to Setiawati (2019, p. 81), some Muslims merge *selapanan* ceremony with the *ʿaqīqah* practice and prepare a goat to be slaughtered.

A *slametan* called *tedhak siti* or *tedhak siten* is held concerning the first time the child touches the ground. It usually occurs when the child is seven months old or seven *weton* (Koentjaraningrat, 1985; Sholikhin, 2010). Recent studies show besides the aforementioned ceremonies, some Javanese also practice two other *slametan* rituals: they are *slametan satu tahun* when a child reaches his/her one year of age, and *slametan nyapih* (weaning) when a child is fifteen to sixteen months old for a boy and eighteen to nineteen months old for a girl (Ekowati, 2015, pp. 216–217; Sholikhin, 2010, p. 28).

Circumcision and marriage

Male circumcision, which is known as *sunatan* or *khitan,* is usually conducted both by *kejawen* and *santri* people. It is held on the fortieth day after birth when a boy is at four or seven in his age, or between the age of ten and fifteen or sixteen. The study of Geertz (1976) in Modjokuto shows this phenomenon. Recently, however, a circumcision ceremony is mostly held together with an *aqīqah* ceremony, before a child starts his elementary school, or before he becomes a *mukallaf* (religiously responsible, around fifteen years old for a boy) (Sholikhin, 2010, pp. 171–172). Until now, many Javanese people conduct a *slametan* called *manggulan* in the evening before the circumcision (Geertz, 1976, p. 52; Rofiq, 2019).

In the past, circumcision was performed in a *krobongan* (a particular room at the house where the offering was usually placed). More recently, many go to a hospital or a doctor for conducting the circumcision (Ekowati, 2015). After the circumcision is done, usually a *jenang abrit* (red porridge) *slametan* is held. Sometimes, wealthy *kejawen* people conduct a *wayang* performance in the evening. Unlike the *kejawen* group, *santri* community only conduct a simple *slametan* with their relatives (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 361).

The practice of female circumcision known as *kafad* (from Arabic language *khifāḍ*) is also found among Muslim society in Indonesia. At some places in Java, the ceremony of female circumcision is called *tetesan.* G.A. Wilken, a Dutch ethnographer was the first researcher who conducted a survey regarding this practice among Muslims in the Indonesian archipelago in 1885. Wilken in (Andrée & Lies, 1998, p. 340) argues that this practice was not indigenous but "borrowed from the Arabs". Nevertheless, based on study done by Andrée and Lies (1998), it was not clear for many whether this practice originated from local custom or Islam, although it was known as a religious practice. *Kafad* is mostly practiced by *santri* people, particularly among the traditionalist groups at the early age (Andrée & Lies, 1998; Bočko, 2016; Koentjaraningrat, 1985). The ceremony of *kafad* is carried out in a simple way, without any accompanying *slametan*. An ethnographic study conducted by Bočko (2016) among Muslims in Yogyakarta indicates that only a simple ritual was done in this ceremony such as reading *basmallah* (*Bismillāh ar-raḥmān ar-raḥīm*, meaning in the name of God, the most Gracious the most Merciful) or *doa*.

Slametans are often held by Javanese people to mark the occasion of marriage. For example, *kumbakarnan slametan* which is performed one week before a wedding; *pasang tarub* which is practised one or two days before a wedding ceremony; *midadareni* and *majemukan* which are given at the evening before the wedding ceremony. The purpose of this *majemukan slametan* is to pray for the success of the ceremony on the next day. On the wedding day, *slametan walimahan* is conducted after marriage contract (*akad nikah*) containing vow of marriage (*ijab kabul*) (Geertz, 1976; Koentjaraningrat, 1985; Sholikhin, 2010; Syam, 2005). In Islamic tradition, marriage feast or wedding banquet (Ar., *walīmah al-'urs,* Ind., *walimahan*) is recommended based on some Prophetic traditions. The purpose of the feast is to express gratitude to God and as the way to publish the marriage. Among the Prophetic traditions stating the marriage feast is a hadith narrated by al-Bukhārī (1997), 'Abdurrahmān ibn 'Auf said that the Prophet told him "Give a wedding banquet, even with one sheep." (Book 67 hadith number 5167). Out of the aforementioned marriage ceremonies, *santri* people emphasize more on the *ijab kabul* and *walimahan* ceremonies.

Death rites and nyekar or ziarah kubur (Pilgrimage to the tomb)

Rituals also accompany the occasion of death. Usually, soon after hearing news about the death, people in the neighbourhood come to the house of the family of the deceased to express their sympathy. A *modin* is invited to lead the funeral rites. Afterwards, preparation before the funeral is made such as bathing, shrouding the body of the corpse, and performing *salat jenazah* (funeral or mortuary prayer). According to Koentjaraningrat (1985), this mortuary prayer does not usually occur among *kejawen* people (p. 395). On the evening after the deceased is buried, the family of the deceased, in particular within the *kejawen* people holds a *slametan* called *surtanah*, *ngesur siti* or *geblake*. Particular foods such as *tumpeng* are given, and *sajen* offerings are placed under the bed of the deceased and some places which are considered sacred such as grave.

The mortuary *slametan,* or most people called it *sedekah* for this death occasion, is continued on the third (*nelung dina*), seventh (*mitung dina*), fortieth (*matang puluh dina*), hundredth day (*nyatus dina*), on the first anniversary (*mendhak pisan*), second anniversary (*mendhak pindho*), and the thousandth day after death (*nyewu dina*). In some places, the pattern for the death *sedekah* ceremony is different. The number of guests is higher and coming from outside the village in addition to people in the neighbourhood. Moreover, the *zikir* practiced in these rituals are usually longer than on other occasions. The purpose is to send the merit of the *zikir* to the deceased. Most of the traditionalist *santri* community conduct all the mentioned *sedekah* or *slametan* except *surtanah.* Also, one additional *slametan* is held by this group, namely, *haul* or *khol*. The *haul* event is held annually, and usually on the *weton* day of the deceased (Ismawati, 2000; Koentjaraningrat, 1985; Sholikhin, 2010; Suwito, Sriyanto & Hidayat, 2015; Syam, 2005).

Another ritual practised by Javanese Muslims concerning the death occasion is *nyekar* or *ziarah kubur*, that is visiting the grave of the deceased family. Koentjaraningrat (1985) regards this custom as an essential ceremony among the Javanese Muslims besides

slametan, in particular among *kejawen* people (p. 365). Usually, this ritual is conducted by *kejawen* people before every life cycle ceremony of the family members, on a particular event such as during *nyadran* in *ruwah* month (a day or few days before the Ramadan month), or after the end of the Ramadan month. The purpose of this practice is to pray for the deceased, to ask blessings from the ancestors, especially when a person faces a difficult moment in his or her life. Usually, during *nyekar* or *ziarah kubur*, people clean the graves, burn incense, strew flowers on the graves, and recite *doa*.

Santri Muslims also conduct this *ziarah kubur*. However, the purpose and practice are different from that conducted by *kejawen* people. For *santri*, the purpose of *ziarah kubur* is not only to visit the grave of the deceased family, but also to pray for the deceased and to remind them about death. Also, they do not only perform *ziarah kubur* on the occasions as mentioned earlier. Usually, traditionalist *santri* clean the graves and perform *zikir* or read the Qur'an. Incense is not burnt during *ziarah kubur*. In addition to visiting the graves of the deceased family, the traditionalist *santri* group also conduct a pilgrimage to the tombs of *kyai* or ulama, and saints (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, pp. 365–366; Sholikhin, 2010, pp. 387–406).

3.3.2.3 Calendrical Rituals

Slametan are also held during many of Javanese Muslim calendrical ceremonies connected to the Islamic calendar.[28] The calendrical rituals are held for instance, on the tenth of the *Muharram* or *Sura* month. *Muharram* or *Sura* is the first month of the Muslim calendar which also marks the new year of the Javanese calendar. The purpose of this ritual is to avoid disaster and to get close to God. Usually, *kejawen* people eat porridge with their families, whereas the *santri* community often perform fasting on the tenth day of this month called *Asyura* (Ar., *ʿĀsyūrā*) fasting.[29] On the last Wednesday of the second month *Safar* or *Sapar*, *rebo kekasan* ritual is held. In this ritual, *kejawen* people usually take a shower and drink sacred water in which a paper with Qur'anic verses on it has been dipped. On the twelve of the month *Rabiul awal/Mulud*, both Javanese *kejawen* and *santri* people conduct a ritual to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad called *maulid Nabi* or *muludan*. In Java, this ritual has been practiced and become part of the court tradition. In the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, this ceremony is held every year known as '*Garebeg Mulud'*. *Slametan* are also conducted on the twenty-seventh day of month *Rajab/Rejeb* to commemorate the Prophet Muhammad's ascension to heaven. The event is known as *rejeban* (refer to month Rajab) or *mikradan* from the Arabic word *mi'rāj*. However, instead of having a communal meal, *santri* people usually gather at a mosque to recite *salawat* (phrases said to

[28] The Muslim year has 354 days or 355 in leap years. It is divided into twelve lunar months, they are Muharram (Ar.,/Javanese Muḥarram/Sura), Safar (Ṣafar/Sapar), Rabiul awal (Rabīʾ al-Awwal/Mulud), Rabiul-akhir (Rabīʾ al-Ākhir/Bakda Mulud), Jumadilawal (Jumādā al-Awwal/Jumadilawal), Jumadilakhir (Jumādā al- Ākhir/Jumadilakir), Rajab (Rajab/Rejeb), Syaban (Syaʾbān/Ruwah), Ramadan (Ramaḍān/Pasa), Syawal (Syawwal/Sawal), Zulkaidah (Żū al-Qaʿdah/Sela), Zulhijjah (Żū al-Ḥijjah/Besar)

[29] Fasting on the tenth day of Muharram is recommended based on a hadith narrated by Aisyah that the Messenger of Allah ordered (the Muslims) to observe fast on the day of *ʿasyūra* and when fasting in the month of Ramadan was prescribed, it became optional for one to observe fast on that day or not (Al-Bukhārī, 1997).

praise the Prophet Muhammad) consisting of the story about the Prophet's life during *muludan* and the story of his ascension in the *rejeban* events.

On the fifteenth day of the month *Syaban/Ruwah* known as *nisfu sya'ban*, *kejawen* people hold a *slametan* called *barakah* whereas *santri* people usually recite Qur'anic verses until late in the night. After midnight, many *kejawen* and a few of *santri* go to bathing places until dawn. Another *slametan* called *megengan* is held on the twenty ninth of *Ruwah* month before entering the Ramadan month. The name of the month *Ruwah* is said to be derived from the word *arwah* (spirit of the dead), therefore, the ritual practiced in this month is related to the death. Particular food such as *apem* is usually provided in this event (Geertz, 1976, p. 78; Koentjaraningrat, 1985, pp. 368–370).

The ritual performed in this *Syaban/Ruwah* month is also known as *nyadran*. Within the Javanese tradition, *nyadran* is a way of glorifying, honouring, and commemorating the ancestral spirits. During the ritual of *nyadran,* a *slametan* and *ziarah kubur* are conducted (usually, it was carried out in graveyards or sacred places by cleaning the graveyards and scattering flowers on the graveyards) (Partokusumo, 1995, pp. 246–247). The ritual is held in the *Ruwah* month due to Javanese people believe that the gate of heaven is open. Therefore, many of them visit the graves of their ancestors, asking for God's forgiveness for them (Suwito, Sriyanto & Hidayat, 2015). In the past, the main ritual performed during the *nyadran* ceremony was providing offerings of incense and flowers. The incense and flowers were then brought to the cemetery of the ancestors. There, people cleaned the graveyard and sent prayers to their ancestors. However, after the arrival of Islam, this tradition is acculturated with Islamic values and is filled with Islamic practices such as the recitation of the Qur'an, reading *zikir*, *doa,* and sometimes a communal meal (Mumfangita, 2007).

On the twenty-first, twenty-third, twenty-fifth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-ninth of the Ramadan month, a series of simple *slametan* called *maleman* (from the word *malem* meaning night or evening) is given. On the first day of Syawal month, a simple *slametan* is also given, followed by visiting the graves of parents. The *slametan* also occurs on the seventh or eighth day of *Syawal*, called *kupatan*. The *kupatan slametan* is held in various ways, differs from one place to another. An ethnographic research done by Anwar (2013) within the Morodemak village inhabitants in the Central Java province reveals that *kupatan slametan* (known as *syawalan* in this place) was held twice, at the evening of the seventh day of Syawal and in the morning of the eighth day. The first *slametan* was conducted at the fish auction houses (*tempat pelelangan ikan,* TPI), and the other was held on a ship in the middle of the sea. *Tumpeng* and other various kinds of foods were brought and eaten together by the participants after reciting *doa.* Another study conducted by Amin (2017) among the community of Muslims in the Trenggalek region East Java province also shows that *slametan kupatan* was held at the eighth day of the *Syawal* month. However, in this area, people only prepared *kupat* and other side dishes at their houses for their guests. On the tenth day of month *Zulhijjah/Besar*, Muslims throughout the world celebrate *Idul Adha*. Like Muslims in other places, in Java, most *santri* people also perform animal sacrifice ritual by slaughtering sheep or cow (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, pp. 370–371).

In general, the calendrical rituals of Muslim holidays consist of one or more of *zikir*, non-obligatory fasting or prayer, Qur'an recitation, reciting written life histories of particular

religious figures, a communal meal, and *sajen* offerings (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 367; Muhaimin, 2006, p. 120). However, as Geertz points out, in the *slametan* of Muslim holidays celebrations, offerings were not always prepared or not supposed to be provided (Geertz, 1976, pp. 77–79). Almost all the calendrical rituals of the above Muslim holidays are practiced both by *kejawen* and *santri* Javanese until now. Nevertheless, *santri* people usually perform the rituals in a different way such as performing prayer, reciting the Qur'an, and reciting a biography book of particular religious figures. According to Muhaimin (2006), most of the celebrations of Islamic holidays currently focus on informal religious public speech (*pengajian umum*) delivered by a religious figure (p. 120). In Geertz's (1976) view, most of the *slametans* given in the Javanese calendrical rituals were simple except for the occasion of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday and *slametans* around the fast in the Ramadan month. Besides the calendrical rituals on the occasions of Muslim holidays, *slametan* was conducted regarding the agricultural cycle, but it was rarely given and had not much importance among Javanese Muslims (p. 80).

3.3.2.4 Other Rituals

In addition to the life cycle and calendrical rituals, *slametan* is held on other occasions such as during cleansing of the village ritual (*bersih desa* or *bersih dusun*). Intermittent *slametans* for particular purposes are also held depending on unusual occurrences. *Bersih desa* is an annual celebration which involves the entire village. It is usually held in Sela, the eleventh month of Javanese lunar year. However, the actual date is different from one village to another, depends on local tradition. The purpose of this ritual is to bring well-being to the village, free the villagers from the evil, disaster, and all that may cause misfortune. Furthermore, it is conducted to appease the village's guardian spirit (*dhanyang*) and maintain agricultural production. In this *bersih desa* ritual, *slametan* ceremony was given accompanied by purification rites (Geertz, 1976, pp. 77–85; Koentjaraningrat, 1985, pp. 375–378; Mulder, 1983, p. 261).

The performance of *bersih desa* ritual has been changing over time. Previously, as Koentjaraningrat (1985) mentiones that *slametan*, including providing *sesajen*, visiting the grave of the village's *dhanyang*, and conducting *wayang* performance or *tayuban* dancing girls party were among the important events done during *bersih desa* ritual. In recent years, many Muslims conduct this ritual in more religious way (pp. 75-76). For instance, a study conducted by Amaliyah (2007) within the Sekoto society regarding *bersih desa* ritual. She argues that in the past, *bersih desa* ritual was conducted in more syncretic way. At the time she did her fieldwork, the character of the ritual had changed to be more religious. Devotional acts such as performing *pengajian,* Qur'an recitation, and *hadrah* (religious poetry chanting accompanied with tambourine instruments) were performed by the society.

To protect against dangers and disasters, Javanese people also conduct a particular *slametan* called *ruwatan. Ruwat* comes from the word *luwar,* meaning free. Darmoko (2002), in his article concludes that *ruwatan* ritual has been performed by Javanese people over the time to free them from disaster or danger. Koentjaraningrat (1985) states that *ruwatan* is a

typically *agami Jawi*[30] people ceremony, particularly to protect children from supernatural dangers (p. 367). Although, it is a typically *agami Jawi* ritual, a few numbers of *santri* people also conduct *ruwatan* ceremony. However, the ritual is performed differently. At the *kejawen ruwatan*, *wayang* performances are held and some formulas (*mantra*) are read. On the other hand, instead of performing *wayang* and reading *mantra*, *santri* recite *doa, salawat,* perform non-obligatory prayer, do salvation, and read the Qur'an (Geertz, 1976, p. 84; Koentjaraningrat, 1985, pp. 376–378).

An ethnographic study conducted by Alexandra et al., (2019) among the Jember regency inhabitants indicated that Muslim people in this place held the *ruwatan* ritual to get close to God and ask Him to protect them from floods and landslides disaster. The ritual was held on the month of *Sura,* started with a *slametan* ceremony, *nyekar*, and cleaned village. People from different villages within this regency added various religious observances such as performing *istighatsah*, reading *manaqib* (reading biography book of Shaikh Abd al-Qādir al-Jailānī, a Hanbali Sunni preacher known as the founder of *tarekat Kadiriyah*) and *salawat,* and complete recitation of the Qur'an. Besides *bersih desa* and *ruwatan*, Javanese people also conduct *slametan* occasionally on various events. For instance, moving to a new house, changing a name, embarking on a journey, preventing or encouraging rain, celebrating an anniversary, having bad dreams, curing illness, and others (Geertz, 1976, pp. 83–84).

3.4 Conclusion

In the Indonesian context, religious authority mostly resides in individual ulama. Several categories of Muslims described as ulama, particularly among Javanese are those who master Islamic knowledge, particularly *fikih,* and are capable of giving guidance and advice to people on religious matters. Aside from mastering Islamic knowledge, Muslims are recognized as ulama and gain a status as religious authorities for a set of reasons. First, having a good character in line with religious rulings. Second, maintaining social network, in particular with Muslim communities on the grassroots level. Third, engaging in various social religious activities such as *pengajian* and religious rituals. To achieve a position as religious authority in Indonesia, an individual needs to accumulate symbolic capital which is a combination between cultural (e.g., mastering Islamic knowledge and having a good conduct) and social capital (e.g., maintaining a good network by involving him/herself in various social religious activities). Muslim women have to fulfil the same requirements to gain a position as female religious authorities. However, social capital such as maintaining a good social network and having the ability to lead their local communities is the most important in this matter. The symbolic capital, however, may differ from one community to another, such as between the Muhammadiyah and NU communities. I will discuss further regarding this matter in the next chapter.

Within Javanese Muslim societies, individual male ulama play a significant role in the religious and non-religious spheres. In the past, they had the privilege position of the only

[30] Agami Jawi is Javanese words meaning the religion of Java.

source of Islamic knowledge. Muslim society refers to them also for economic and social issues. Nevertheless, this status has been challenged by the emergence of modernity. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the idea of democracy has been spread, mass higher education has been developed, and modern institutions in which people can seek for alternative religious guidance has been built. Various media such as printing press, radio, television, and the internet are being used widely, which has enabled the pluralizing of the sphere of religious authority.

In addition, modernity also gives Muslim women an opportunity to expand their career beyond domestic spheres. They become ulama and participate in contesting religious authority position with their male counterparts. Many of these female ulama play significant roles both within local and global contexts, and within women-only or mixed gender communities. As stated by Ismah above, the involvement of female ulama particularly in interpreting Islamic texts and shaping ritual practices may destabilise the authority of male ulama. All these factors make religious authority becomes a contested matter.

The contestation is not only related to achieving a position of religious authority. The decision, *fatwa* or guidance given by the religious authority agents is often disputable. Among the tasks of the religious authority agents are giving religious guidance, interpreting religious texts within local contexts, and determining orthodoxy and orthopraxy. In the ritual practices, both male and female religious authorities attempt to determine what is ritually proper according to the Islamic framework. For instance, despite a long history of the development of Islam in Java, a variety of ritual practices resulting from the relationship between Islam and local traditions exist until now. Diverse groups of Muslims view these practices differently. First, *kejawen* group maintains Javanese practices in its original way. Second, some *santri* communities attempt to uphold the ritual by inserting Islamic practices and reject what is regarded as non-Islamic. Third, other *santri* people disapprove of rituals which are not referred to in the Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions and abandon local customs. The way each group deals with the ritual practices is mostly influenced by the approach used by their local religious authority figure in contextualising the texts. Here, female religious authority agents play an essential role within their local communities, particularly among the women community such as the Aisyiyah and the Muslimat NU groups. The roles of female ulama within the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities in negotiating ritual practices will be presented in chapters Six to Eight.



UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI

Syarif Hidayatullah

JAKARTA – INDONESIA

Chapter 4
Understanding the Fields of the Patriarchal Muslim Organizations: Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama

4.1 Introduction

In the Bourdieusian vocabulary, what makes people get together and compete in a particular field is interest (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 116–117; Grenfell, 2014, p. 154). Kupari (2016) states that it is based on "the tacit acceptance of, or practical belief in, the rules of the game and the stakes the game is concerned with. Interest is a precondition of the formation of any field" (p. 23). According to Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), three steps are necessary in order to study a field. "First, one must analyse the position of the field vis-à-vis the field of power […] second, map out the objective structure of the relations between the positions occupied by the agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate form of specific authority of which this field in the site […] third, one must analyse the habitus of agents" (pp. 104–105)**.** The previous chapter elaborates how Muslims, in particular women can occupy a position of religious authority in an Indonesian setting. It also describes the capital they need as their means to gain this position. The previous chapter also describes ritual in the Javanese context and different arguments of Muslims regarding the ritual as well as their practices.

This chapter aims to provide background information regarding the Islamic fields in which the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU are engaged with. These are the Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah organizations, and the Nahdlatul Ulama and the Muslimat NU organizations. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to the Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah organizations. It begins with a brief description of the modernist movements in Indonesia, and continues with the historical background of the Muhammadiyah organization as well as the hierarchical structure of this organization. Afterwards I describe the Aisyiyah organization, which is the women's organization of Muhammadiyah. This part also contains an explanation regarding the formal religious authority institution within the Muhammadiyah organization, i.e., *Majelis Tarjih and Tajdid*, the position of religious authority occupied by individual agents (male and female) within or outside this institution, and the symbolic capital to achieve the status of religious authority within this organization. Before analysing the habitus of agents in the next chapters, it is important to understand the understandings of the Muhammadiyah organization on various issues. Therefore, at the end of this part, I discuss the views of the Muhammadiyah organization regarding women, their roles and authority in the organization and public spaces; its religious understanding in the field of theology,

jurisprudence, and ethics; as well as their attitudes toward indigenous cultures and their views on the issue of *bid'ah*.

The second part of this chapter is the description of the Nahdlatul Ulama and the Muslimat NU organizations. It contains a brief description regarding traditionalist Muslim organizations in Indonesia, a historical background of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization, as well as the hierarchical structure of this organization. Then, I discuss the development of Muslimat NU, the women's organization of NU as well as its identity and programs. Like the first part, this part also contains a description regarding the formal religious authority institution within the Nahdlatul Ulama organization, i.e., *Lembaga Bahtsul Masail Nahdlatul NU*, the position of religious authority occupied by individual agents (male and female) within or outside this institution, and the most important capital used to achieve the status of religious authority in this organization. Following this, I discuss the views of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization regarding women, their roles and authority in the organization and public spaces; its religious understanding in the field of theology, jurisprudence, and ethics; as well as their attitudes toward indigenous cultures and their views on the issue of *bid'ah*

4.2 Muhammadiyah

4.2.1 The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia: An overview

Around the twentieth century, many social, political, and religious organizations were founded in the Indonesian Archipelago. Ricklefs (1981) categorizes the beginning of this century as a period of awakening for the Indonesian nation. According to Noer (1973), in this period, many Indonesians began to recognize the need for change or reform either by deepening Islamic teaching, establishing organizations, and applying new methods in the field of education that had been brought by the colonial government (p. 70).

The establishment of Muslim movements in Indonesia had partially been inspired by the developments and reform ideas from the Middle East, in particular Mecca and Cairo. Some movements were alike in believing that deriving Islamic teachings and their spirit from the Qur'an and the prophetic traditions was the best solution to respond to the challenges of the modern world. For example, one of the figures of the Egyptian reformist movements, Muhammad Abduh, argues that Islamic teachings need to be reconstructed and brought to the original condition through two steps: presenting a 'pure' Islam as stated in the Qur'an and hadith and implementing its thought in the framework of modern society (Adams, 2010, pp. 68–90; Gibb, 1947, p. 33; Jainuri, 1992, p. 17).

To present a 'pure' Islam in line with modernity in the twentieth century, Abduh argues that Islamic teaching should be based on rationalism and the rule of reason. The thought of Abduh about rationalism led him to criticize the acceptance of the already established *fatwa* or the uncritical following of the existing religious sources as the final and authoritative character (Ar., *taqlīd,* Ind*., taklid*). Abduh then proposes to refer directly to the religious practices performed by the Prophet Muhammad and his companions and supports the right of *ijtihad* (Ridha, 2006)**.** Moreover, the implementation of Islamic thought in

modern society can be done by reformulating Islamic doctrines in the light of modern thoughts, reforming Muslims' higher education and defending Islam against Western and Christian influences**.**

The ideas of Muhammad Abduh, in particular, and his student Rashid Ridha influenced many Indonesian Muslims. They reached them through pilgrimage, the institutions of higher learning centres of Islamic studies and from various publications. Early in the twentieth century, *"al-Manār"* (The Lighthouse) journal emerged as the most important vehicle bringing reformist ideas from Egypt to Indonesia. The readers of "*al-Manār"* from various countries, including Indonesia, also corresponded to some topics contained in the journal and were disseminated them among their society. The establishment of local magazines also assisted in the spreading of reform ideas and connecting the Middle East and *Dutch East Indies*. Among the local magazines were: *"al-Imām"* (The leader) which was founded in 1906, "*Neracha"* (The Scales) which was founded in 1911, and "*Tunas Melayu*" (The Malay Young Generation) which was founded in 1913. Those periodicals contained many references to *"al-Manār"* (Jainuri, 1992, pp. 29–30).

The earliest reformists in the Indonesian Archipelago came from the Minangkabau region of West Sumatra. The first signs of reform could be found in this area while traditional practices still flourished in other regions. Among the reformists were Shaikh Ahmad Chatib from West Sumatra (b. 1855, d. 1916), Shaikh Thaher Djalaluddin from Bukit tinggi (a city in West Sumatra) (b. 1869, d. 1956) who stayed in the Minang region of West Sumatra in 1923, Shaikh Muhammad Djamil Djambek from Bukit tinggi (b. 1860, d. 1947), Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah also known as Haji Rasul from the Minang area (b. 1879, d. 1945), and Haji Abdullah Ahmad from Padang Panjang (b. 1878, d. 1933). From these places, the reformist ideas began to spread to the different parts of the Indonesian archipelago (Noer, 1973, pp. 31–48).

Almost all reformists in Indonesia at that time had studied in Mecca. They had connected with Abduh's ideas during their stay in Mecca as well as after returning to the Archipelago. According to some reformists, like Haji Abdul Halim, however, the son of a religious official (*penghulu*) of Madjalengka West Java (b. 1887), and Shaikh Ibrahim Musa, not all Indonesian reformists, in particular, those who came from the Minangkabau area were inspired by the ideas of Muhammad Abduh. Some of them were educated in Mecca under Shaikh Achmad Chatib, a teacher of the Syafii *mazhab,* who had different ideas from Abduh about the acceptance of already established *fatwa* (Noer, 1973, p. 297).

The Muhammadiyah organization, founded in 1912, has remained as the largest modernist organization in Indonesia. It was the largest and most influential among modernist movements (Nakamura, 2012, p. 5). The al-Irsyad movement, founded by the Arab community in 1913, was the second modernist organization. Before the establishment of al-Irsyad, the Arab community had a welfare and educational association called *Jamiat Chair* (*Ar., al-Jam'iyyah al-Khairiyyah,* meaning charity group) founded in Jakarta on 17 July 1905 (Noer, 1973, p. 58). A conflict occurred between the recognized descendants of the Prophet (*sayyids*) and the non-*sayyids* Arabs. Al-Irsyad remained organized by the non-*sayyid* Arabs, while the *Jamiat Chair* remained in the hand of the *sayyid* group.

A separate modernist Muslim association is *Persatuan Islam* (Persis). This Association was established in 1923 by a group of Sumatran reformists living in the regency of Bandung West Java province. *Sarekat Islam*, which was established in 1912 around the same period as the foundation of the Muhammadiyah organization, was also considered a modernist association. Nevertheless, it[31] differed from the other modernist associations since the focus was then mainly on the economic field (Singh, 1961).

4.2.2 The Muhammadiyah Organization: Its origin and identity

The Muhammadiyah organization was formally established on 18th November 1912 in Yogyakarta by K.H.A. Dahlan (1868-1923). The name of the Muhammadiyah organization was inspired by the name of the Prophet Muhammad. Muhammadiyah means "The follower of Muhammad" (Nakamura, 2012, p. 5). K.H.A. Dahlan was one of the Friday sermon givers in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. Apart from giving sermons, he offered religious teachings outside the court, which attracted many young Muslims from the neighbourhood. K.H.A. Dahlan joined the first movement of the independence of Indonesia, Budi Utomo, and the Sarekat Islam movement before established the Muhammadiyah organization. He then developed Muhammadiyah in response to the suggestion made by his students, who were also members of Budi Utomo (Noer, 1973, p. 73). On 22 August 1914, the General Governor of the *Dutch East Indies* issued his decision (*besluit)* no. 18 to legally recognize the establishment of Muhammadiyah within the operational area of Yogyakarta and its surroundings (Nakamura, 2012; Sutarmo, 2005).

On 3rd August 1920, based on decision no. 40, the operational area of the Muhammadiyah organization expanded to other regions outside Yogyakarta across Java and Madura (Diktilitbang & LPI 2010, 30). Afterwards, Muhammadiyah proposed to widen the area of operation into all areas in the *Dutch East Indies*. This proposal was validated by the government in decision no. 36 on 2nd September 1921 (Balai Pustaka, 1996). In 1923, Muhammadiyah had fourteen branches spread over five provinces: Yogyakarta, East Java, Central Java, West Java and Jakarta. The first Muhammadiyah branch outside Java was established in West Sumatra in 1925 (Abdullah, 1971, p. 73). In the 1930s and 1940s, other Muhammadiyah branches throughout the Indonesian archipelago emerged. Each branch had a different local character distinguishing them from other branches (Beck, 2019, p. 18; Noer, 1973, p. 76).

In general, the reasons behind the establishment of Muhammadiyah can be distinguished into internal circumstances and external circumstances. The internal circumstances were related to Islamic teachings and religious attitudes among Muslims,

[31] Sarekat Islam started with the name of Sarekat Dagang Islam. The organization was founded in 1911 under the leadership of Hadji Samanhudi. Two important factors were responsible for its establishment. The first factor was the reaction of the Javanese batik traders to the competition with the Chinese traders. The other factor was the activities of Christian missionaries in Indonesia. Due to some conflict with the Chinese traders, the Sarekat Dagang Islam organization was suspended by the government on 12 August 1912. However, the government lifted the restriction two weeks later. On 19 September 1912, the organization changed its name to Sarekat Islam. The purposes of Sarekat Islam were for example, promoting the trade by Indonesians and promoting education based on religious tenets (see Singh, 1961).

while the external circumstances referred to socio-political circumstances of the Muslim community.

Internal circumstances

Internal circumstances include religious identity, institutional aspect, and awareness to carry out the values contained in the Qur'an and hadith. The first reason is religious identity. Ricklefs (2006) argues that Muslim societies in the Dutch East Indies, especially Java until the early twentieth century were mostly characterized by "mystical synthesis". Although Islam had been present for centuries, Islamic tenets often mixed with Hindu and Buddhist cultures that were already in place, as well as local beliefs in religious practices (S. Anwar, 2005). According to Nashir (2010, p. 34), this attitude was considered by Muhammadiyah as an act of polytheism (Ar., *syirk,* Ind., *syirik)* by associating other Gods with Allah, *bid'ah*, and superstition *(*Ar., *khurāfah,* Ind., *khurafat).* In the opinion of K.H.A. Dahlan,[32] mixing Islam with other pre-existing teachings and local beliefs might lead to the stagnation of Islamic teachings and backwardness within Muslim society. Thus, he assessed the importance of the 'purification' (*pemurnian*) of Islamic beliefs and rituals from the influence of non-Islamic tenets and practices (mentioned in Jainuri, 1992, pp. 59–66).

Another reason is related to the institutional aspect. The spread of Islam in Java is said to be characterized by peaceful penetration. Islam, with its thought of human equality and the use of persuasive methods of preaching combined with the process of cultural acculturation, has increased the number of people converted to Islam. According to Ridin, Wasit and Mundiri (2000), one of the factors leading to this fact is the role of nine saints (*Walisongo*)[33] as the preachers in Java coming from the middle and high social groups (p. 15). The method of Islamisation adopted by *Walisongo* tended to promote Islamic teachings without coercion or violence and apply Islamic values in everyday life. They are said to have used several methods and approaches in their propagation to the public. One of the methods they used was developing *pesantren* education. Many Javanese scholars believe that the *pesantren* foundation was originally initiated by one of the *Walisongo* members, Maulana Malik Ibrahim, and developed by Raden Rahmat (Zulkifli, 1994).

---

[32] K.H.A. Dahlan was not famous as a writer. He did not write any book, and his thoughts were mostly recorded and reproduced by his son or pupils.

[33] There are different opinions about the meaning of "*walisongo*", their name and the number of *walis* who played a role in the process of Islamization in Java. According to Tjan Tjoe Siem, *Walisongo* are the guardians who came from nine directions, i.e., eight corners of angina plus one in the centre. Adnan says that *walisongo* is a representation of a change of the spoken word *thana'* derived from Arabic meaning commendable. However, R. Tajono states that the word *Walisongo* is a change from the spoken word *thana*' originating from Javanese language instead of Arabic means a place or site. There is no agreement in Javanese community about who are included as *Walisongo.* However, most scholars agree the following nine can be considered important preachers contributing to the early Islamisation of Java: Shaikh Maulana Malik Ibrahim (d. 1419), Sunan Ampel (Raden Rahmat) (d. 1467/1481), Sunan Giri (Raden Paku) (d. 1506), Sunan Bonang (Makdum Ibrahim) (d. 1525), Sunan Gunung Jati (Syarif Hidayatullah) (d. 1570), Sunan Drajat (no death year), Sunan Kalijaga (no death year), Sunan Kudus (Ja'far Shadiq) (d. 1628/1648), Sunan Muria (Raden Prawata). Beside these nine preachers, several names are considered to be *walisanga.* For instance, Raden Patah (Sunan Bintara), Raden Santri (Sunan Gresik), etc (Saksono, 1995, pp. 18–24; Sofwan et al., 2000, pp. 11–12)

During the *Walisongo* era until the end of the nineteenth century, educational institutions were considered traditional. For example, the *pesantren* institution did not have a definite curriculum on the subjects taught within one academic year. Moreover, the syllabus was created by a *kyai.* In the learning process, the *pesantren* used *kitab kuning* (Steenbrink, 1984; Wirjosukarto, 1985). The teaching was a one-way communication from *kyai* to the student. Consequently, the students were not encouraged to do *ijtihad* or critical thinking with the changing surrounding circumstances (Nashir, 2010, p. 22).

As the founder of Muhammadiyah, K.H.A. Dahlan saw that the existing organizations at that time could not meet the need to support the propagation of Islam and the progress of modern educational institutions built by the Dutch government (Nakamura, 2012, p. 47). Therefore, Muhammadiyah tried to establish modern educational institutions that combined general lessons and religious courses. To achieve this goal, K.H.A. Dahlan did a 'pilot project'. In December 1911, an educational institution was founded and became the first Muslim elementary school in Yogyakarta with the name "*Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Diniyah Islamiyah"* (see Arifin, 1987, p. 216; Ruswan, 1997, p. 75). The school was considered equal to a public school *(volk school)* at that time. In 1918, Muhammadiyah established a high school known as "*al-Qism al-Arqa'*" (Mulkhan, 1990, p. 72). *Al-Qism al-Arqa'* then changed into Muhammadiyah boarding school (*Pondok Muhammadiyah*) in 1921. In 1922, Muhammadiyah founded a Native Dutch School with Islamic lessons, namely *Hollandsch Inlandsche School Met de Qur'an* as a secondary school for the graduates from the previous Muhammadiyah schools (Diktilitbang & LPI, 2010, p. 56; Nakamura, 2012, p. 89). These schools then became the institutions where male and female teachers, as well as preachers, were trained (Peacock, 2017, p. 51).

Muhammadiyah adopted the modern education system, which the Dutch government partly promoted. For instance, there were fixed agendas and subjects to be taught within one academic year. For religious instruction subjects, the syllabus was designed by the Muhammadiyah organization taken from the reformists' books in addition to classical Islamic books. For non-Islamic subjects, the syllabus was taken from the government school curriculum. Unlike in the traditional schools that emphasized one-way teaching, in this Muhammadiyah school, students were much freer to conduct discussions. It did not, however, mean that in traditional schools, students were not allowed to ask questions (Ruswan, 1997, p. 82).

The last internal circumstance of the Muhammadiyah establishment was the existence of awareness to carry out the values contained in the Qur'an and hadith. The emergence of the Muhammadiyah organization also could not be separated from the spirit of K.H.A. Dahlan in understanding and interpreting the Qur'an. The verse of the Qur'an (3:104): "*And let there be [arising] from you a nation (ummah) inviting to [all that is] good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong, and those will be the successful*", other Qur'anic verses (4:110; 12:108, 16:125; 61:4), and hadith narrated by al-Bukhāri and Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj about commanding right conduct and forbidding indecent behaviour encouraged K.H.A. Dahlan and some Muhammadiyah founders to unify Muslims in an organized manner. K.H.A. Dahlan was conscious of his duty to enjoin the right conduct and forbid indecent behaviour *(Amar makruf nahi munkar,* Ar., *al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa an-nahy 'an al-*

munkar) through the establishment of the Muhammadiyah organization. The aforementioned phrase taken from the Qur'anic verse has become the motto of the Muhammadiyah organization (see Nakamura, 2012, pp. 53–54; Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2017, p. 10).

External circumstances

Apart from the internal circumstances discussed above, there are at least two external factors forming the basis for the establishment of the Muhammadiyah organization. The first factor is the political policy of the Dutch colonial government. One of the Dutch political policies behind the establishment of Muhammadiyah was the efforts to contain the spreading of Islam by supporting Christianity. The activities of the Christian missionaries were growing, especially in Java. Here, Muhammadiyah was founded to counter the influence of Christianization, prevent the apostasy that occurred among Muslims, and reinforce Islamic identity through religious propagation. In addition, to support this effort, Muhammadiyah formed the Religious Preaching Section *(Bahagian Tabligh*) – which later changed its name to the Religious preaching council (*Majelis Tabligh*) – (Beck, 2019, pp. 6–7; Majelis Tabligh Muhammadiyah, n.d.) which focus on propagating Islam and maintaining the faith of Muslim. Through the establishment of Muhammadiyah, the position of Muslims in The Dutch East Indies was getting stronger (Diktilitbang & LPI, 2010, p. 11).

The second factor is the reform ideas coming from the Middle East. The Dutch East Indies government initially restricted Muslims to perform pilgrimage (*hajj*) due to political reasons. Yet, on the suggestion of Snouck Hurgronje, the Dutch government gave freedom for Muslims to visit Mecca for worship, as long as they did not disturb the political stability of *The Dutch East Indies* government. K.H.A. Dahlan, along with other scholars who carried out the *hajj,* gained access to reformist ideas during their stay in Mecca. K.H.A. Dahlan even met Rashid Ridha, one of the Egyptian reformers. He also studied reformist ideas of the Middle East modernists through the *al-Manār* magazine, which had spread to various Islamic regions including Indonesia at the time and read local modernist magazines such as *al-Imām* as described earlier in this chapter (Jainuri, 1990, p. 38; Sutarmo, 2005, p. 32).

Among the aforementioned factors of the establishment of Muhammadiyah, scholars have different opinions regarding the most important reason. Nakamura for instance, regards the internal factors, in particular the religious identity aspect or the tension among Muslim communities in Java as the determinant of the Muhammadiyah foundation (Nakamura, 2012, p. 165). Alwi Shihab (1998, pp. 126–127) and Dzuhayatin (2015, pp. 42–43) (pp. 42-43) implicitly indicate that the awareness of K.H.A Dahlan regarding various social and political contexts played important role in the development of the Muhammadiyah organization.

As written in its statutes, Muhammadiyah is an Islamic-based organization (Chapter II, article 4) that aims to uphold and revere Islam to realize a pure Islamic society (article 6). To achieve this objective, Muhammadiyah attempts to implement the motto of "*amar makruf nahi munkar*" meaning enjoin the right conduct and forbid indecent behaviour in all aspects of life through various works (article 7 of the statutes of the Muhammadiyah organization).

The first followers of the Muhammadiyah organization were mainly engaged with *batik*[34] trade and were identified as an "urban middle class" society (Nakamura, 2012). Van Doorn-Harder (2006) also says that the followers of the Muhammadiyah organization "are identified as urban and middle upper class who rely on the printed work" (p. 64). Similarly, Najib Burhani (2005, p. 111) reveals that in its earlier days, the Muhammadiyah organization was regarded as urban phenomenon. On the contrary, the followers of the traditionalist Muslim movement that will be discussed in the second part of this chapter mostly resided in rural areas and were identified as "lower class where cultures are still largely oral" or rural phenomenon. These differences are, however, slowly fading in recent times (Van Doorn-Harder, 2006, p. 64).

4.2.3 **Muhammadiyah**: Structure and hierarchy

The structure of the Muhammadiyah organization consists of central, provincial, regional, district and sub-district executives. The Central Executive of Muhammadiyah (*Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah*) occupies the highest position within the organization. It leads the organization in general, followed by the Provincial Executive (*Pimpinan Wilayah*), Regional Executive (*Pimpinan Daerah*), District Executive (*Pimpinan Cabang*), and then sub-district (*Pimpinan Ranting*) (Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2020b). Muhammadiyah has thirteen councils that assist the Muhammadiyah executives in implementing the Muhammadiyah's primary tasks. They are Religious Preaching Council (*Majelis Tabligh*), The Tarjih and Renewal Council (*Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*), Higher Education Council (*Majelis Pendidikan Tinggi*), Primary and Secondary Education Council (*Majelis Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah*), Cadre Education Council (*Majelis Pendidikan Kader*), General Health Service Council (*Majelis Pembina Kesehatan Umum*), Public Empowerment Council (*Majelis Pemberdayaan Masyarakat*), Religious Endowment and Property Council (*Majelis Wakaf dan Kehartabendaan*), Economy and Entrepreneurship Council (*Majelis Ekonomi dan Kewirausahaan*), Literature and Information Council (*Majelis Pustaka dan Informasi*), Law and Human Rights Council (*Majelis Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia*), Social Service Council (*Majelis Pelayanan Sosial*), and Environment Council (*Majelis Lingkungan Hidup*).

Besides councils, Muhammadiyah also has some institutions which help the organization in implementing supporting tasks. They are District and Sub-district Development Institution (*Lembaga Pengembangan Cabang dan Ranting*), Finance Management Control Institution (*Lembaga Pembina dan Pengawasan Keuangan*), Research and Development Institution (*Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengembangan*), Disaster Administration Institution (*Lembaga Penanganan Bencana*), Charity, Donation, and Alms Institution (*Lembaga Amal Zakat Infak dan Shodaqqoh*), Public Policy Institution (*Lembaga Hikmah dan Kebijakan Publik*), Sport, Art, and Culture Institution (*Lembaga Seni Budaya dan Olahraga*), International Relations and Cooperation Institution (*Lembaga Hubungan dan Kerjasama Internasional*) (Muhammadiyah.or.id).

[34] A traditional textile made through a method of producing coloured designs on textiles by dyeing them, having first applied wax to the parts to be left undyed. https://www.lexico.com/definition/batik

Within the Muhammadiyah organization, there are seven autonomous organizations. These autonomous organizations have a structure network similar to the Muhammadiyah organization, ranging from the central, provincial, regional, district, and sub-district level. Furthermore, they are given the right to manage their own organizations. However, as part of the Muhammadiyah organization, the autonomous organizations are obliged to follow the decision made by the Muhammadiyah and report all their activities to the organization. There are seven autonomous organization within the Muhammadiyah: they are Aisyiyah (women's organization of Muhammadiyah), Pemuda Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah youth organization), Nasyiatul Aisyiyah (young women's organization of Muhammadiyah), Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah (Student organization of Muhammadiyah), Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah (IMM, University student organization), Tapak Suci Putra Muhammadiyah (martial art), and Hizbul Wathan (boy scout) (Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2020a).

4.2.4 Aisyiyah: The women's organization of the Muhammadiyah

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, most women were lacking education in many parts of the Indonesian archipelago. Many of them were prevented from participating in the educational process. At that time, education was intended for the children of the Dutch elites and indigenous *priyayi* or wealthy people. Suraiya (2005) indicates that this phenomenon occurred partly due to the belief that female education was a threat to the traditional customs and the way the society lived (p. 195). Later, women were allowed to take part in the educational process. However, unlike the education for men which was intended to fill the Dutch bureaucracy, women's education was directed to prepare women to become modern housewives (Dzuhayatin, 2015, p. 121). The roles of women were mostly confined to the domestic sphere. As such, they had less access to public roles. Thus, they were almost entirely subordinate to men (Suraiya, 2005, p. 196). In the Kauman villages, however, where the Muhammadiyah organization was founded, women were permitted to attend *pengajian* in the Agung mosque or the houses of *kyai*. According to Suraiya (2005), there were limited opportunities for women to expand their roles in the public space (p. 201).

The situation in which women did not gain access to important positions within society challenged K.H.A Dahlan to seek a way to empower women. Like Middle Eastern reformists such as Muhammad Abduh, K.H.A. Dahlan was known for being attentive to women's education. Having studied some Qur'anic verses and Prophetic traditions, K.H.A. Dahlan attempted to give more attention to women's issues. He realized that education was the way to improving and changing the status of women. Therefore, in 1913, K.H.A. Dahlan encouraged three girls from the Kauman village Yogyakarta to study in a public school called "*Neutraal Meisjes School*". After their success, some young women from the next generation then went to the same school. Although women were given a limited opportunity to participate in education process, not many families felt the need of this education. Thus, K.H.A. Dahlan also urged Muhammadiyah members to support their wives and daughters to learn religious teachings and attend formal education (Syamsiyatun, 2007, p. 69). Dzuhayatin

(2015) indicates that the efforts of K.H.A. Dahlan to improve the status of women through education were controversial at the time because he encouraged women to achieve the highest education level as achieved by men. Also, he encouraged girls to learn cycling to expand their opportunity for seeking knowledge (p. 162).

K.H.A. Dahlan was aware that public school students were not taught religious material. Thus, he and his wife initiated to form an informal *pengajian* group. Reciting the Qur'an was among the materials of the *pengajian* (Nashir, 2010, p. 353; Nura'ini, 2013, pp. 130–131). Through this *pengajian,* K.H.A. Dahlan also spread his idea about modernism and the purification of Islamic teaching among Muslim women (Suraiya, 2005, p. 217). This study group then evolved into the Muhammadiyah women's organization called Aisyiyah (Beck, 2019, p. 16). Aisyiyah was founded by K.H.A. Dahlan on 27 Rajab 1335 H, coincided with 19 May 1917 in Yogyakarta (Pimpinan Pusat 'Aisyiyah, 2012, p. 5). The birth of this organization was motivated by a desire to improve Muslim women's conditions by facilitating their access to education, health care and social services. Rof'ah (2016, p. 29) states that by the establishment of Aisyiyah, K.H.A. Dahlan expected this organization to convey Islamic reform Ideas carried out by Muhammadiyah among Muslim women.

Like the followers of the Muhammadiyah organization who were identified as "urban middle class", the Aisyiyah organization was first introduced to the urban societies that resided in the neighbourhood of Laweyan and Kauman villages. Most of them ran batik businesses and were entrepreneurs who had their own access to wealth. They were regarded as *wong dagang* (see chapter Three). Within the society of both villages, as mothers, women had an important role within their family as "conferrer of titles". This fact differed from the custom within the *priyayi* community in which women did not have the right to make a decision. Instead, they had to follow their husband's decision (Suraiya, 2005, p. 216; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006, p. 93).

As the women's organization of Muhammadiyah, the Aisyiyah organization is considered as an Islamic organization that bases its movement on Islam as articulated in the Qur'an and hadith (Pimpinan Pusat 'Aisyiyah, 2012, p. 5 clause 4). The identity of Aisyiyah as the women's Islamic movement can be seen from several works and programs formulated in its bylaws, such as disseminating and deepening Islamic teachings in all aspects of life. Other works are such as strengthening Muslim women Islamic principles as the basics of the faith, teaching them Islamic practices such as daily prayers, fasting during *Ramadan* month, giving alms, reciting the Qur'an, etc. According to Van Doorn-Harder (2006), teaching Muslim women to read the Qur'an and educating them on correct Islamic rituals were among the first focus of the Aisyiyah organization (p. 93). These works have been done for a long time through *pengajian* programs, coaching female preachers *(*Ar., *muballighāt,* Ind., *muballigat*), publishing some books, and others (Muhammadiyah, 2019; Pimpinan Pusat 'Aisyiyah, 2012, p. 22; Suratmin, 1990, pp. 68–70).

The Aisyiyah organization focuses not only on the development of Muslim women religious characters, but it also makes efforts to develop its surroundings. Thus, besides Islamic teaching, the Aisyiyah organization develops various programs related to education, social welfare, health, and others. As well as Muhammadiyah, education becomes one of the main pillars of the Aisyiyah movement. Through the primary, secondary, and higher

education council (*Majelis Pendidikan Dasar, Menengah dan Tinggi*), the Aisyiyah organization attempts to educate Indonesian people, especially Muslim women and advance their quality. Recently, Aisyiyah oversees 86 playgroups, 5,865 Kindergartens, 380 Informal Islamic schools (*madrasah diniyah*), 668 Quran learning institutions, 14 elementary schools, 5 junior high schools, 10 Islamic junior high schools (*madrasah tsanawiyah*), 8 senior high schools (*madrasah Aliyah*) and others. Besides, Aisyiyah also manages higher education, including universities, academies, and polytechnics (Muhammadiyah, 2019).

Another concern of the organization is social welfare. Through the social welfare council (*Majelis kesejahteraan social*) within the organization, the Aisyiyah executives carry out agendas such as providing services and support for poor people, founding social institutions such as orphanages, nursing homes, training centres, shelters for the care of the elderly women, and others. Assisting victims of violence against women and children is also another activity of this council (Muhammadiyah, 2019). Van Doorn-Harder (2006) argues that the amount of activities carried out by the Aisyiyah organization is the result of implementation from the preaching and teaching to doing and serving (p. 92). The Aisyiyah organization is thought to be the largest Muslim women organizations in Indonesia with the number of sympathizers and members are counted around twenty million. Currently, the Aisyiyah organization has 33 provincial executives (*Pimpinan Wilayah*) at the provincial level, 370 regional executives (*Pimpinan Daerah*) at the municipality level, and 2.332 district executives (*Pimpinan Cabang*) at the district level and 6,924 sub-district executives (*Pimpinan Ranting*) at the sub-district level throughout the country (Muhammadiyah, 2019).

At the beginning of its establishment, Aisyiyah was part of Muhammadiyah and in charge of women activities. Aisyiyah was given status as a general autonomous organization (*organisasi otonom umum*) in 1939. As mentioned before, the status of the Aisyiyah as an autonomous organization indicates that its members are members of Muhammadiyah According to Dzuhayatin (2015), however, this phenomenon in fact marks gender segregation in its decisions (p. 170). In 2005, Aisyiyah then developed into a special autonomous organization (*organisasi otonom khusus*) within Muhammadiyah. This status gives the Aisyiyah organization a higher position than other autonomous organizations within the Muhammadiyah. Since becoming a special autonomous organization, Aisyiyah can manage its business charities (*amal usaha*) in various field independently such as education, social and health. On the one hand, Aisyiyah can formulate its rules and working programs. On the other hand, as the special autonomous organization within the Muhammadiyah organization, Aisyiyah has to follow some considerations or decisions made by the Muhammadiyah organization (Pimpinan Pusat 'Aisyiyah, 2012; Suraiya, 2005).

4.2.5 Religious Authority within the Muhammadiyah Organization: Formal and informal

4.2.5.1 Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid: The formal religious authority institution

Foundation, evolution, and role

As noted briefly in chapter Three, Muhammadiyah has a *fatwa* body considered a formal religious authority institution within the organization, namely *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid.* It was founded for the first time in 1927 with the name of *Majelis Tarjih*, fifteen years after the establishment of Muhammadiyah. In the early period of the Muhammadiyah development, the responsibilities to discuss religious issues, issue *fatwa* and solve all matters regarding social or educational programs were taken by the leadership (S. Anwar, 2005). However, at the sixteenth Muhammadiyah Congress in the Pekalongan city Central Java in 1927, K.H. Mas Mansoer, one of the prominent figures in Muhammadiyah, recommended the establishment of the *Majelis Tarjih* to deal with religious matters. One year later at the seventeenth Muhammadiyah congress in Yogyakarta, *Majelis Tarjih* was formed with K.H. Mas Mansoer as its chairman (Ka'bah, 1999, pp. 95–96).

In 1971, Muhammadiyah changed the name from *Majelis Tarjih* to *Lajnah Tarjih*. In 1995, this organization was called *Majelis Tarjih dan Pengembangan pemikiran Islam* (S. Anwar, 2005, pp. 33–34). Since 2005, after Muhammadiyah congress in Malang East Java province, the name of *Majelis Tarjih* has been changed into *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*. One of the responsibilities of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* is to create the ideological bases of the Muhammadiyah organization by conducting research and discussion in the field of religious knowledge and Islamic law. Before 1960, the task of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* was to study the opinions of the jurists, to take the supposedly strongest views, and to decide on the new issues not addressed by the jurists in the past (Ka'bah, 1999, pp. 98–99). Since 1961, the task of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* has not been limited to the most potent opinion-taking, as the term *tarjīh* in Arabic means examining the various opinions of Muslim jurists on a particular issue and determining the most faithful to the original sources. This meaning has gradually changed to Islamic research and development because the basic framework within the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* is to deal with the continuous evolution. According to Anwar, in this context, *tarjīh* is almost identical to *ijtihad* (S. Anwar, 2005, p. 33).

As stated in "Surat Keputusan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah nomor 149/KEP/I.0/D/2015 tentang penetapan anggota pimpinan Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah periode 2015-2020", in 2020, *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* consisted of seven divisions, i.e., Fatwa and Religious Advice Development Division (*Divisi Fatwa dan Pengembangan Tuntunan*), The Qur'an and Hadith Studies Division (*Divisi Kajian al-Qur'an dan Hadis*), Hisab, Knowledge and Technology Division (*Divisi Hisab dan Iptek*), Society and Family Studies Division (*Divisi Kajian Kemasyarakatan dan Keluarga*), Islamic Economic Studies Division (*Divisi Kajian Ekonomi Syariah*), Cadre and

Organization Division (*Divisi Kaderisasi dan Organisasi*), and Publication and Relations Division (*Divisi Publikasi dan Kerjasama*).

Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid is considered enormously important for the Muhammadiyah community. Organizationally, it is the central power that regulates all Muhammadiyah affairs and the foundation for the Muhammadiyah community regarding religious law. The council confers on anything related to legal issues. Individually, *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* is the formal religious authority institution in which the Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah members mostly refer to regarding religious matters in daily life. Most of the Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah scholars also refer to the *Tarjih*'s decisions or *fatwa* in giving religious advice to Muslim society. Due to the essential role of the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*, the members of the *Majelis Tarjid dan Tajdid* board are chosen based on their expertise in various fields and their ability in conducting collective ijtihad *(ijtihad jamāî)* (Qibtiyah, 2018, p. 200).

According to Lailatis Syarifah, one of the *Divisi Fatwa dan Pengembangan Tuntunan* members, the recruitment process of the *Majelis Tarjid dan Tajdid* boards is done through informal or formal ways. In the informal way, the children of famous *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* ulama may be recruited as board members of this council if they can fulfil several requirements to be the members such as having sufficient knowledge of Islam. Formally, the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* boards are chosen by assessing the academic background of the Muhammadiyah members and their expertise in various fields (Yogyakarta, 29 August 2018). However, Dzuhayatin (2015) in her book "Rezim gender Muhammadiyah" indicates that there is an informal qualification in choosing the members of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid,* particularly female members, i.e., the way they dress. Some female candidates were said to be listed as the prospective members of the council. Nevertheless, only one person met the criteria. Others were dropped because the way they dressed was considered 'inappropriate' such as wearing jeans. Dzuhayatin says that this criterion became an unwritten convention for female candidates as board members within the Muhammadiyah organization (p. 228).

The products of Majelis Tarjih

There are three products of the result of *ijtihad* provided by *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*. The first product is known as *tarjih* discourses (*wacana tarjih*). *Wacana tarjih* are thoughts or opinions written by the Muhammadiyah members in the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* journals, magazines, websites and books. This product of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* is taken into consideration in providing *fatwa* or used as a material for discussion during the *tarjih* conference. However, it is binding neither both on the organization nor the Muhammadiyah members.

The second product are *fatwa*s on religious issues (*fatwa-fatwa agama*). In general, *fatwa* means legal opinion issued by any jurists regarding a particular matter of Islamic law in response to questions or requests posed by individuals or non-individuals. The *fatwa*s of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* are produced to respond to some questions posed by the Muhammadiyah members or Muslims in general regarding religious issues in daily life. The

questions are sent to *Suara Muhammadiyah* magazine or directly to the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* board. Sometimes, direct questions are posed from other councils or institutions within the Muhammadiyah organization such as *Majelis Wakaf dan Kehartabendaan, Majelis Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia, Lembaga Hikmah dan Kebijakan Publik, Lembaga Seni Budaya dan Olahraga, Majelis Pelayanan Sosial,* etc.; from the autonomous organizations of Muhammadiyah such as Asiyiyah, Muhammadiyah Student Association, and others.

According to Fuad Zein, the head of *Divisi Fatwa dan Pengembangan Tuntunan* of the central *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*, once a week, the *Divisi Fatwa dan Pengembangan Tuntunan* central board gathers in Ahmad Dahlan University's Islamic centre to discuss and produce *fatwa*s. All board members prepare materials for discussion. *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* is a combination of *fikih* experts and other professionals such as medical experts, psychologists, and others. Therefore, in providing religious guidance or *fatwa*, they do not just refer to one view but consider different opinions. In addition, the answer to every religious problem must be comprehensive and takes both texts and contexts into consideration (Yogyakarta, 19th December 2018). The *fatwa*s are then disseminated and published. Most of the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid fatwas* have been produced in a collection of books entitled "*Tanya Jawab Agama*". Until the beginning of 2019, the collection of books had been published in eight volumes. *Fatwas* in one theme were also compiled in a thematic book format.

Like *wacana tarjih*, *fatwa*s are not binding on Muhammadiyah as an organization, on the questioners, or members of Muhammadiyah, but they serve as a guide. Thus, according to Fuad Zein, sometimes, the Muhammadiyah or *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* members provide individual *fatwa*s different to the *fatwa*s that have been officially issued by the institution. Latief (2017, pp. 50–52) calls this fact as "official and unofficial within Muhammadiyah" (*yang resmi dan tidak resmi dalam Muhammadiyah).* For instance, *fatwa* regarding a *tahlilan* performance (reading a compilation of particular Qur'anic *surahs* or verses and *zikir,* see further chapter Six) at the third, seventh, fortieth mortuary rituals. In the book of *Tanya Jawab Agama* (vol 2, p. 173-174), *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* argues that there is no hadith indicates that the Prophet Muhammad performed *tahlilan* on the above occasions. Furthermore, the ritual is believed to originate from a non-Islamic culture. Accordingly, it becomes the basis for the Muhammadiyah community not to perform this ritual. On the other hand, due to various reasons, some Muhammadiyah ulama allow the Muhammadiyah community, especially in the rural areas, to perform the *tahlilan* ritual on the death occasion. However, Fuad Zein stated during the interview that although some Muhammadiyah ulama allow the Muhammadiyah community to hold this ritual, they attempt to change some part of the ritual to become more 'Islamic'. For instance, they try to reduce the intensity of the ritual from the third, seventh, fortieth day rituals to the three days mourning ritual. In the opinion of those who allow the Muhammadiyah community to hold the *tahlilan* ceremony to mark the occasion of death, the ritual is considered customary (*adat*) which is part of social life practices and manages the relations among humans as well as between humans and the world they live (Ar., *muʿāmalah,* Ind., *muamalah*). Based on the rules of Islamic law regarding *muamalah* practices, everything is permitted unless there is a prohibition. Latief (2017, p. 51)

argues that the different opinions among the Muhammadiyah ulama occur due to their various educational, cultural and economic backgrounds as noted in chapter Three.

The third product is *tarjih* decision (*putusan tarjih*). *Putusan tarjih* is regarded more authoritative than *fatwa tarjih*. It is issued through a National *Tarjih* Conference (*Musyawarah Nasional Tarjih*). This conference involves the representatives of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* from the provincial levels across Indonesia as well as the members of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* central board. It is attended by the Muhammadiyah scholars and invited experts from non-Muhammadiyah members (S. Anwar, 2005, p. 35; Zulian, 2018, p. 251). The compilation of *putusan tarjih* is called "Himpunan Putusan Tarjih" abbrieviated as HPT. According to Zulian (2018), this HPT is a fundamental tool for the Muhammadiyah community in dealing with Islamic law issues, in particular relating to rituals. In many cases, it is considered as a standard reference book which judge the views and practices of the Muhammadiyah community, whether they are faithful to Muhammadiyah doctrines or not (pp. 249-250). Therefore, formally, this product is binding for the Muhammadiyah community and becomes the basis for the organization's works or activities.

In addition to issuing *tarjih* decisions, the task of *Majelis tarjih dan Tajdid* is to revise some decisions they made previously. For example, the decision regarding the opening prayer (*doa iftitah*) recited in prayers was only *allāhumma bā'id*. There are three choices of *doa iftitah* which can be read by the Muhammadiyah community. During our interview, Fuad Zein told me that this revision occurs because of limited references used by the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* in the past. Besides, the members of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* come from a variety of educational backgrounds from time to time which affects the results and changes of *fatwa* or decision (Yogyakarta, 19 August 2018).

4.2.5.2 Informal Religious Authority Agents

Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid is the only formal religious authority institution within the Muhammadiyah organization that provides *fatwa* or religious advice, particularly for the Muhammadiyah community. Only a few members of Muhammadiyah, both male and female, can achieve the position as the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* boards. However, individual agents may gain status as informal religious authorities and are recognized as ulama among the Muhammadiyah community if they demonstrate symbolic capital in accordance with the field, as noted in chapter Three.

According to Sjahlan Rosyidi (1989), the former head of the Muhammadiyah provincial executive in Central Java, within the Muhammadiyah organization, ulama do not only master *fikih* knowledge, but they should attempt to implement Islamic principles in this modern world (p. 148). Syamsul Anwar in Salim (2019) said that there are four essential competencies needed for the Muhammadiyah ulama. First, they master at least one field of Islamic knowledge. Second, they show good behaviour and piety in their daily life. Third, they engage in religious activities, especially among the local Muslim community. Fourth, they have competence in Arabic or English language (pp. 2-3). Individual agents can achieve

these kinds of capital through formal religious education or training and involvement in different religious events.

To prepare a male or female ulama cadre, the Muhammadiyah organization conducts various trainings and educational programs. For instance, Tarjih Muhammadiyah Ulama Educational program. This program is done in collaboration between the Muhammadiyah Universities, i.e., Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta and Ahmad Dahlan University and the central board of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* Muhammadiyah. Many Muhammadiyah cadres who join this program became Muhammadiyah leaders, members of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* board, members of *Majelis Tabligh* board, leaders of Muhammadiyah Islamic boarding schools, lecturers, religious teachers in the Muhammadiyah schools or Islamic boarding schools, and preachers (Pendidikan Ulama Tarjih Muhammadiyah, 2020).

Rather than accumulating capital through pursuing formal education or participating in ulama training program, Van Doorn-Harder (2006) argues that female ulama within the Muhammadiyah organization, in particular preachers, reached their position by non-formal studying, participating in Muhammadiyah activities, or joining workshops. Many of them came from a middle-class background with a high school degree. Also, only a few of them have official religious training (p. 97). This phenomenon is mostly found among the Muhammadiyah communities in the local rural areas. In the urban areas, where many women attended higher educational institutions, nevertheless, many Muhammadiyah female ulama hold official religious training certificates.

4.2.6 **Muhammadiyah**: Thoughts and views

4.2.6.1 On Women, Their Role and Authority

As mentioned in chapter three and earlier in this chapter, modernity brings opportunity for women to participate in education. In the opinion of Dzuhayatin (2015), even though the opportunity was limited for women to take part in the educational process, it was able to facilitate the emergence of women's organizations in the early twentieth century. Besides, although the establishment of these women's organization was not directed towards equal status between men and women, it can be regarded as women's emancipation movement (p. 123).

Van Dorn-Harder (2006) argues that the inclusion of women is one of the important aspects of reformist movements (p. 68). Jayawerdana (1986) criticises this fact and states that the emancipation of women promoted by male reformers was only for their interest and intended to raise their image as a modern organization and strengthen patriarchy (p. 9). According to Dzuhayatin (2015) the notion of Jayawerdana does make sense since the education of women at that time mostly focused on strengthening the role of women as modern housewives (p. 124). As described earlier, however, K.H.A. Dahlan educated some girls in order to empower women's status. Furthermore, he wanted to prepare these girls to

be the leaders of women's branch of the Muhammadiyah organization to spread Islamic teachings and the idea of the Muhammadiyah organization among women.

There is a dynamic view within the Muhammadiyah organization regarding women and their roles. Dzuhayatin (2015) discusses this phenomenon and shows the dynamic from 1912 until recent period. In the period of 1912-1930, there were not many differences regarding the roles and position of men and women within the organization. For instance, both men and women had the same rights to participate in education. In the period of 1930-1940, the relationship between male and female members of Muhammadiyah was described as a senior-junior partnership. Although the female members were partner of male members, the status of men is higher than women. For instance, women did not have representative within *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* which held the authority to decide theological issues. In this period, however, through their participation in education, women might become *muballigat* which had previously been reserved for men. The next period between 1940-1950 was known as crisis period owing to the political circumstances in Indonesian archipelago at the time. There were no significant gender issues in this period. In the period of 1960-1970, women were recognised as participants in the Muhammadiyah congress. Dzuhayatin mentions that in this period, two Aisyiyah members, Baroroh Baried and Aisyiyah Hilal, were appointed as the Muhammadiyah central executives.

In the period between 1970 and 1980, there was a formal recognition of the roles of women in the wider context outside the domestic sphere. In this time, an influential book was issued by the Muhammadiyah organization through *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* entitled "*Adabul Mar'ah fil Islam*" (Pious Women in Islam). The book is the product of the 18th *Tarjih* congress, which was held in Garut West Java in 1976. It addresses women's rights, obligations, and roles in domestic or public spheres. Wahid (2004) argues that the Muhammadiyah organization has preceded the discussion on gender equality through this book. The book propounds the principle of gender equality, which means women are equal to men and hold the same rights to do various tasks. In addition, the book indicates that women have the autonomy to do their own tasks and are responsible for their actions.

Between 1980 and 1990, women of the Aisyiyah demanded their participation in the Muhammadiyah's Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid in order to formally discuss women's issues in this formal religious authority institution. In the period between 1990 and 2000, some women were appointed as the board members of Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid. Being representatives of this formal religious authority institution of the Muhammadiyah organization meant that women were equal to men in discussing religious issues and providing official *fatwa* of the organization. During this period, organizationally, the Muhammadiyah organization also took into consideration the idea of women's representative in the Muhammadiyah executive. In 2002, it was proposed that the chairman of Aisyiyah or one of the Aiysiyah members could sit as the leaderships of the Muhammadiyah central executive. However, during the 45th Muhammadiyah *muktamar* held on July 2005 in Malang East Java province, women's involvement was overturned by most of the participants of the *muktamar.* At the end, it was decided that the presence of the Muhammadiyah female members within the Muhammadiyah organizational leadership structure was only as ex-officio held by the chairwoman of the Aisyiyah organization. In the opinion of some

Muhammadiyah members as stated by Dzuhayatin, this decision was the result of the disagreement between the more 'conservative' group who did not agree with the involvement of women in the Muhammadiyah leaderships and 'progressive' group who viewed the need of women's participation in the organizational structure of the Muhammadiyah executive (pp. 167-187).

However, although women can only sit as *ex-officio* in the Muhammadiyah organizational leadership structure, female members of Muhammadiyah may occupy position as board members of some councils of Muhammadiyah, such as members of *Majelis Tabligh, Majelis Pendidikan Tinggi, Majelis Pendidikan Dasar dan menengah, Majelis Pendidikan Kader* and others (Majelis Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2010; Majelis Pendidikan Kader Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2010; Majelis Tabligh Muhammadiyah, 2015). Women are also appointed as board members of the Muhammadiyah institutions such as *Lembaga Pengembangan Cabang dan Ranting, Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengembangan* and others (Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengembangan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2010; LPCR PP Muhammadiyah, 2015). The 45th Muhammadiyah *muktamar,* held on July 2005, proclaimed that women may gain positions as the members of the Muhammadiyah central executive (Dewi, 2008).

As an autonomous organization and women's branch of Muhammadiyah, Aisyiyah focuses on women's activities, particularly in the fields of education, social and health. According to Alfian (1989), Aisyiyah follows the traditional gender division of labour, meaning men play essential roles in the public sphere related to political agendas, organizational policies, religious decisions, etc. On the other hand, women are restricted to domestic spheres or women only settings and limited to the fields of education, health and economics (p. 255). However, as mentioned earlier and argued by Wahid (2004), in 1976, *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* issued decisions supporting women's participation in various public spheres (p. 201). For instance, in the political arena, women's roles are supported by the Qur'an verse 71 of *surah* at-Taubah as noted in the book of "*Adabul Mar'ah fil Islam*" (Majlis Tarjih Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 1982)**.** The verse indicates that men and women contribute to command the good and forbid the evil. In the political sphere, women can participate directly by being representative bodies (legislatures) or indirectly through their participation in society or social organizations (p. 50). Besides, Dewi (2008) indicates that Muhammadiyah allows women to become judges, school or company director, regent, or take part in any profession in society (p. 164).

Organizationally, Muhammadiyah holds the authority – legal, structural, and financial – over all its autonomous organizations including Aisyiyah. Regarding the legal authority, Muhammadiyah executives are superordinate. They have the highest power and authority regarding the control of juridical legitimacy (Dzuhayatin, 2005, p. 221). Nevertheless, according to Dzuhayatin, although Muhammadiyah holds the highest legal authority, in practice, it has decreased. For instance, as noted before, the book of "*Adabul Mar'ah fil Islam*" was published by Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid. However, the main ideas were formulated by the Aisyiyah members. Related to the structural authority, Muhammadiyah is the umbrella of all the autonomous organizations in it including the Aisyiyah. Describing this fact, Baroroh Baried, the Aisyiyah chairwoman from 1965 to 1985 in Van Doorn-Harder says

"They [Muhammadiyah] can also fire members of the Aisyiyah board, which they have done in the past. We cannot fire members of their board, and we don't have a veto in their organization. You see, it is rather like a husband-wife relationship." (p. 72). In its article, all the Muhammadiyah as well as all the autonomous organizations' assets and business charities are managed by the Muhammadiyah executive (PP Muhammadiyah, Keputusan Muktamar Muhammadiyah ke-45 tentang Anggaran Rumah Tangga, 95 Tahun Langkah Perjuangan (tt), hlm. 591). However, after the Aisyiyah turned into a special autonomous organization, the Aisyiyah organization has the limited financial authority.

Theoretically, women within the Muhammadiyah organization have the same right as men to achieve position as agents of religious authority, both in the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* or outside this institution. In the past, *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* consisted male ulama only. Nevertheless, in 1995, three Aisyiyah members were invited to join the council (Van Doorn-Harder, 2006, p. 72). Since then, some women are chosen to become members of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*. Besides appointing some women, in response to the demand regarding gender equality, *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* established a new division, namely Divisi Wanita dan Keluarga in 2000 (Dewi, 2008, pp. 163–164) (p. 163-164). Since 2010, the division is called *Divisi Kajian Kemasyarakatan dan Keluarga*. As previously described in this chapter, like men, Muhammadiyah women can achieve status as informal religious authority figures by being preachers or religious teachers among the Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah community in particular, and Muslim society in Indonesia in general.

4.2.6.2 In the Field of Theology, Islamic Jurisprudence, and Ethics

Muhammadiyah is a religious movement which differs from the longstanding views of Islam in the archipelago, especially Java. The differences can be seen, for instance, from the field of theology, Islamic jurisprudence, and ethics. One of the main theological thoughts underlying the establishment of the Muhammadiyah organization is derived from the Quranic *surah,* namely *al-Mā'ūn*. The founder of the Muhammadiyah organization, K.H.A. Dahlan was inspired by this *surah.* Later on, his idea is well known as the theology of *al-Mā'ūn*. In the opinion of K.H.A. Dahlan, faith should be expressed in deeds and charity (Nashir, 2010). Based on his interpretation of the s*urah,* Ahmad Dahlan argues that the Muhammadiyah community should implement their faith into three main activities, i.e., education, health services and social services. The implementation of the *al-Mā'ūn* theology can be seen from establishing Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah educational institutions, various social institutions such as orphanages, nursing homes and health institutions such as clinics and hospitals (Huda, 2011; Peacock, 2017). The purpose of the educational institutions' establishment is to support and spread the idea of purification of Islam, while the reason for the foundation of social and health institutions is not only to provide help for the community but also to maintain the ideology of Muslims by abandoning the practices of shamanism (Sutarmo, 2005, pp. 148–155).

Arifianto (2012) argues that from the 1930s until 1970s, the official theology of the Muhammadiyah organization was purifying Muslim religious practices from the 'syncretic'

customs. Muhammadiyah attempts to replace Javanese beliefs in spirits with the belief in one God (Burhani, 2005, p. 124). Furthermore, it tries to perform religious rituals as practised by the Prophet and his companions. For instance, instead of holding a *slametan* ceremony at the house of a mourning family on the seventh, fortieth, hundredth or thousandth day after the death of Muslim – as practised by most Javanese people –, Muhammadiyah encourages its members to come to the mourning family to counsel them and bring some food (Majelis Tarjih&Tajdid PP Muhammadiyah, 2015). Muhammadiyah bases this practice on what the Prophet did as stated in a hadith narrated by Abū Dāwūd (2008 hadith number 3132) that the Prophet Muhammad said: Prepare food for the family of Ja'far, for there has come to them that which is preoccupying them". The hadith indicates that Muslims should prepare food and help the mourning family instead of being provided food by the family of the deceased (as usually practised during a Javanese *slametan*).

In the field of jurisprudence, while the paradigm of traditional Muslims at the time of the Muhammadiyah foundation was said to be an imitation or uncritical following to the Muslims scholars, especially to the four *mazhab,* Hanafi, Maliki, Syafii, and Hanbali, the modern scholars from Muhammadiyah attempt to reform and adapt Islamic thoughts and practices to the contemporary world by returning to the authority of the Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions (Nashir, 2010; Noer, 1973, pp. 9–10). Accordingly, Muhammadiyah refers to the Qur'an and hadith directly and rely on *ijtihad* instead of *taklid* (Zulian, 2018, p. 229). According to Ka'bah (1999, pp. 98–99), the *ijtihad* practised by the Muhammadiyah organization was done by studying the opinions of the jurists, taking the supposedly strongest opinions, and deciding on the new issues unaddressed by the jurists in the past. However, since 1961, the *ijtihad* is not merely taking the strongest opinions, but its meaning has become broader by formulating legal issues in many aspects.

Anwar (2005, p. 32) argues that the notion of *ijtihad* done by the Muhammadiyah does not indicate that this organization rejects the opinions of those *mazhab*s or supports one of them. Muhammadiyah uses the views of these *mazhab* scholars as comparative material. Zulian (2018) indicates in his study that the Muhammadiyah organization attempts to re-evaluate, revive, modify, or develop the views of the past scholars (p. 33). According to Sutarmo (2005, pp. 101–104), the results of the Muhammadiyah's *fatwa* or decision can be in line with the views of the *mazhab* scholars, such as not using a *qunut* (*duā̓* performed in the standing up position of the last *rakaat* of prayer) as part of the dawn (Ar., *ṣubḥ*, Ind., *subuh)* prayer which is in accordance with the Hanafi *mazhab's* opinion. On the other hand, the results of the Muhammadiyah's *fatwa* or decision can also be different from the opinions of the *mazhab* scholars, such as in the number of parts of prayer (*rakaʾat*) in *tarawih* prayer. Although Muhammadiyah declares itself that it does not adhere to the teachings of any *mazhab*, Zulian (2018) argues that Muhammadiyah has developed its own *mazhab* namely *Tarjih mazhab* (p. 230)

In the field of ethics, Muhammadiyah relies on the moral teachings contained in the Qur'an and hadith. Moral teaching is often associated with the Sufism. As the reformist organization that actively promotes the idea of purification and opposes the practices of *tahayul* (Ar., *takhayyul* meaning imagination), *bid'ah* and *khurafat*, Muhammadiyah is considered by others to be less positive towards the practice of Sufism or *tarekat* as its

institution (Howell 2014, 706). This can be seen from the attitude of the Muhammadiyah organization regarding Sufism. Before the Muhammadiyah *Muktamar* in Aceh 1995, Muhammadiyah tended to be careful with Sufism or *tarekat* terms. Since the 1970s, Muhammadiyah had been criticized for the "spiritual dryness". The central board of Muhammadiyah at the time acknowledged this fact and recognized the need to "turn to spirituality" (Beck, 2014). Therefore, after its *Muktamar* in 1995, Muhammadiyah was considered more open and showed a more positive attitude, especially towards the new style of Sufism famous by Neo-Sufism. In this *Muktamar*, Muhammadiyah designed the so-called spiritualization of *Syari'ah.* Beck (2014) argues that the Muhmaadiyah's attitude towards Sufism or *tarekat* could change depending on various issues such as the social and political context, the needs of the Indonesian Muslims, and the opinions of the Muhammadiyah Central boards in charge (p. 219).

Muhammadiyah is said to avoid the term Sufism or institutionalizes it formally into *tarekat* because it may lead people to the mystification of Islam. Besides, as Van Doorn-Harder (2006) says, Muhammadiyah is careful with the practice of Sufism because it requires total submission to the leaders and visiting their graves after their death (p. 51). Instead, Muhammadiyah advocates spirituality which is implemented in concrete acts such as good deeds without being institutionalized in the form of *tarekat*. In practice, Muhammadiyah still rejects the spirituality contains *tahayul, bid'ah* and *khurafat*. However, as for the Sufi-like rituals that are in accordance with *Syari'ah* and can improve one's piety, they are allowed to be performed (Beck, 2014; Nakamura, 1980; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006)**.**

4.2.6.3 Muhammadiyah's Attitudes Toward Local Culture and its View on the Issue of Bid'ah

The differences between Muhammadiyah and other Muslim organizations, particularly the traditionalist group can be understood from its attitudes toward local culture. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, Muhammadiyah, like other modernist organizations, tries to return Islamic beliefs and practices as stated in the Qur'an and hadith (Peacock, 2017). It also attempts to remove non-Islamic customs and traditions from Muslim religious practices.

As well as with the practice of Sufism, Muhammadiyah's attitude towards local culture is said to be ambiguous and is changing over time. As noted earlier in this chapter, Muhammadiyah was born in the area of Yogyakarta palace. Its first leaders were the court officials (*abdi dalem*) responsible for religious matters at the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. Burhani (2005) identifies Muhammadiyah as "a sort of portrait of a movement of the *abdi dalem* and *priyayi* in a Javanese kingdom." (p. 112). He also states that Muhammadiyah did not have a confrontation with the Javanese culture in its earlier stages. It even accommodated several elements of the Javanese culture. Here, Muhammadiyah attempts to maintain its identity as Muslim organization while interact with Javanese culture and select some of its elements. For instance, Muhammadiyah used the Javanese calendar in their reports along with the Arabic ones or used the Javanese language on some occasions, such as while delivering a Friday sermon (2004, pp. 50–51). Other examples could be seen from the way

its members wear traditional Javanese clothes and accessories such as Javanese-style male jackets *(beskap)* and Javanese headdresses *(blangkon)* (Burhani, 2004, pp. 61–72). Furthermore, Muhammadiyah does not openly forbid rituals containing Javanese traditions held by the Yogyakarta palace. For instance, a study conducted by Beck (1995) shows that Muhammadiyah did not oppose the commemoration of the Prophet's birthday called *Garebeg Maulud* ceremony held annually by the palace although it contains Javanese elements which are said to be 'syncretic' (p. 277). According to Burhani (2005), in the era of K.H.A. Dahlan, "Islam was culturally Javanised and Javanese culture was substantially Islamised, or rationalised and modernised. Although Java, as an ideology, was rejected, as a culture it was accepted" (p. 125).

Nevertheless, after the 1930s, Muhammadiyah seemed to be less accommodative towards Javanese culture. According to Burhani (2006), several factors contributed to this shift. First, the formation of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* with its *syari'ah* orientation in 1927. Before the establishment of the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*, Muhammadiyah mostly focused on educational and social reformation. After the establishment of the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*, Muhammadiyah became more concerned about the religious practices of its members. Second, the influence of Sumatran leader Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah known as Haji Rasul, who was believed to be less accommodating of Javanese culture, in the Muhammadiyah Congress in 1930. Another factor was the success of Wahhabism in Arabia, with purifying Islamic practices as one of its goals. Nakamura (2012) argues that although during this time, Muhammadiyah tended to be more cautious and was considered anti-Javanese, in fact, Muhammadiyah still expressed some Javanese features in many ways (pp. 211-212).

In the 2000s, after receiving various kinds of criticism, Muhammadiyah felt the need to consider local culture in developing its religious propaganda (*dakwah*) (Latief, 2017, pp. 136–137). One of the efforts made by Muhammadiyah was to bring up the concept of cultural propagation (*dakwah kultural)* during the Muhammadiyah Congress 2002. This cultural propagation was defined as an effort to instil Islamic values by paying attention to human potential as cultural beings. This concept attempts to synergize two important things, they are dynamism and appreciation of culture on the one hand and purification on the other hand. It means Muhammadiyah accepts local culture that does not contain *tahayul, bid'ah* and *khurafat* (Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2004, p. 26). Through *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*, Muhammadiyah attempts to determine whether non-Islamic culture, including rituals, is compatible with Islamic teachings or regarded as *bid'ah* (Arifianto, 2012, p. 169). The changes in the attitude of the Muhammadiyah organization above cannot be separated from the policies made by its leaders. In addition, the background of the leaders such as their education and contextual setting are also very influential in this case.

In the local context, the attitude of the Muhammadiyah members related to local cultures may differ. For instance, as noted previously, organizationally, Muhammadiyah did not object to the celebration of *Garebeg Maulud.* Likewise, as indicated by Beck (1995), most of the inhabitants of Yogyakarta, where the Muhammadiyah central executive was located, accepted some parts of the ritual. On the other hand, the members of this organization outside Yogyakarta such as people from the regency of Pekalongan Central Java and

Minangkabau West Sumatra tended to reject the practice of this ritual. Similarly, Mughni in Qomar (2021, p. 226) indicates that Muhammadiyah members in Yogyakarta had a different attitude towards local cultures with those outside this province. Muhammadiyah members in Yogyakarta were regarded more relaxed to local cultures, while the members in other places tended to reject these customs.

In the view of Muhammadiyah, not everything new falls under the category of *bid'ah*. It only exists in the matters of faith and special worship (*ibādah maḥḍah*) – whatever assigned by God in details and specific ways. In these matters, Muslims cannot change the rules decided by God, or make any innovations. In the matters of common worship (*ibādah ghair maḥḍah*) – all deeds allowed by God – or *muamalah,* Muhammadiyah views that these matters can be done even if the Prophet Muhammad and his companions never did them, as long as they are in accordance with Islamic principles. This view is in line with two Muhammadiyah principles i.e., purification and dynamization as described earlier. Muhammadiyah attempts to 'purify' Islamic faith and special worship practices from 'non-Islamic' elements or return them as practiced by the Prophet and his companions. On the other hand, Muhammadiyah tries to dynamize people's life according to the demand of the times (Rachmadhani, 2020; Suara Muhammadiyah, 2021b).

4.3 Nahdlatul Ulama

4.3.1 The Traditionalist Muslim Organization in Indonesia

Long before the emergence of the modernist Muslim organizations, traditionalism was the dominant form of Islam in the Indonesian Archipelago, particularly in Java. The traditionalist Muslims were characterized by their reverence to the *mazhab* scholars, their preference of *taklid,* and the restriction of the use of *ijtihad*. Besides, they were mostly concerned with religious devoutness and *fikih*. Another dominant characteristic of the traditionalist Muslims was their preservation of local customs. For instance, many of them paid respect to saints and *kyai,* and visited their graves after death. Also, they held *selametan* during specific events such as life cycle or calendrical rituals and performed various ceremonies destined for deceased people (Bush, 2009, p. 31; Van Bruinessen, 1994, p. 23).

The traditionalist Muslims centred their education process in a *pesantren* or *surau*. The teaching was a one-way communication from a *kyai* to students, not a discussion. According to Bush, this culture of unquestioning obedience might strengthen the authority of *kyai* (Bush, 2009, p. 31). The *kyai* did not merely act as a teacher, but he also served as a spiritual guide and a leader of religious rituals in society. Consequently, a *kyai* was highly respected. Public religious rituals were believed to be more meaningful with their presence. The *pesantren* or *surau,* where the education was held, were not organized officially. There were neither classes nor curricula. Furthermore, the traditionalist's institutions stressed learning by heart rather than understanding (Noer, 1973, pp. 300–302; Van Bruinessen, 2013, p. 22).

Indeed, the establishment of the reformist or modernist Muslim organizations with the purpose of 'purifying' Islamic teaching contrasted with the building of the traditionalist Muslim beliefs and practices. As mentioned in the first part of this chapter, in the opinion of the modernist Muslims, some of the traditionalist Muslims' deeds were regarded as 'not Islamic'. In contrast, the traditionalist Muslims believed that the religious rituals they performed were not contrary to Islamic teaching. Consequently, some disputes occurred between the two groups (Bush, 2009, p. 31; F. Ismail, 2011, p. 4; Noer, 1973, p. 98). The traditionalist Muslims then decided to form organizations to reinforce their position in the Dutch East Indies.

Like the modernist Muslim movements, some traditionalist Muslim organizations were established at the beginning of the twentieth century. The first organization was known as Nahdlatul Ulama, meaning the Awakening of the Ulama abbreviated as NU. The Nahdlatul Ulama organization was founded in 1926. Most of the founders of this organization were *kyai*s from the *pesantren* circle and traders (Van Bruinessen, 2013, p. 26). Another traditionalist organization was founded in 1930 with the name of *Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah* (The union for Islamic education abbreviated as Perti). Teachers at the traditional Islamic schools in Minangkabau, West Sumatra founded this organization. *Al-Washliya* association in North Sumatra was also considered a traditionalist organization based on its character. It emerged from the scientific activities of several students in East Sumatra during the colonial era. This organization was officially founded on 30 November 1930 (Sulaiman, 1956, pp. 56–58).

In addition to these organizations, other traditionalist organizations, namely *al-Khairat* in Central Sulawesi and *Persatuan Umat Islam* (The unity of Muslims, abbreviated as PUI) in West Java, were established later. At the beginning, *al-Khairat* was an educational institution known as *al-madrasah al khairāt al Islāmiyyah* founded by Sayyid Idrus ibn Salim al-Jufri on 30 June 1930 in the city of Palu, Central Sulawesi. Through its first congress held on 21-25 August 1956, *al-Khairat* officially became an organization (Nur, 2016, pp. 29–42). On the other hand, PUI was founded on 5 April 1952 in Bogor West Java as the result of the fusion between two organizations *Perikatan Umat Islam (*Muslim association) led by Abdul Halim Madjalengka in Madjalengka West Java and *Persatuan Umat Islam Indonesia* (the association of Indonesian Muslim ummah) led by Ahmad Sanusi in Sukabumi West Java (Hernawan, 2014, pp. 42–53). Among the traditionalist organizations mentioned above, Nahdlatul Ulama is the largest in which its branches are found in almost all provinces of Indonesia (Van Bruinessen, 2013).

4.3.2 The Nahdlatul Ulama Organization: Its origin and identity

Nahdlatul Ulama (commonly abbreviated as NU) was founded on 16 Rajab 1344 H, coincided with 31 January 1926 M (Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama, 2015, p. 37). NU was born in one of the *pesantren*s in Surabaya East Java province, where the culture of traditional Islam has been rooted and preserved. In February 1930, NU obtained its legal status from the Dutch government after issuing its first statute in the NU's third congress in 1928 (Van

Bruinessen, 1994, p. 36). Like the Muhammadiyah organization, in general, the reasons behind the establishment of the NU organization can be divided into internal and external circumstances. The internal conditions were related to the development of the modernist organizations and the role of Muslim scholars, while the external circumstances referred to the International political situation of the Muslim community at that time.

Internal circumstances

In the early 1920s, the operational area of Muhammadiyah had expanded to East Java province. Before this period, the activities of the Muhammadiyah organization were limited to the area of Yogyakarta province. Apart from Muhammadiyah, the al-Irsyad organization also established a branch in Surabaya, East Java. The development of these modernist organizations with their idea to 'purify' Islamic beliefs and practices from non-Islamic elements caused various reactions from the local community (Haidar, 1998, pp. 39–44). One of the responses that occurred came from the traditionalist scholars of the *pesantren* community. The traditionalist scholars attempted to defend their ideology by establishing a national scale organization. Despite the doctrinal differences between the modernist and traditionalist groups, the traditionalists adopted several renewal ideas in the fields of education and social life. For instance, as mentioned in its first statutes (Chapter II, article d and e, issued during the third Congress of NU in 1928), among the efforts made by NU to achieve the organizational goal were building *madrasah*s and orphanages which was the characteristic of the modernist (see M. Van Bruinessen, 1994, pp. 36–38).

Another factor supporting the establishment of NU was the roles played by Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari and Kyai Abdul Wahab. Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari, a *kyai* of a *pesantren* in Tebuireng village the regency of Jombang who was highly respected in Java, was the teacher of Kyai Abdul Wahab. Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari suggested Kyai Abdul Wahab to continue his study in Mecca after finishing his study in Tebuireng. He studied in Mecca at the age of 20. Upon hearing about the organization of *Sarekat Islam* in Indonesia, Kyai Abdul Wahab later established a branch of this organization in Mecca. On returning to Indonesia in 1914, he settled in Surabaya and was active in *Sarekat Islam*. In 1916, Kyai Abdul Wahab joined Mas Mansour, who later became the Muhammadiyah activist, to establish a school with the name of *Nahdlatul Watan* (The Revival of Homeland). In the early 1920s, Kyai Wahab founded a Muslim youth organization called *Sjubbanul Watan* (Youth of Homeland) and *Nahdlatut Tujjar* (The Revival of Tradesmen). The members of these organizations were mostly Javanese *kyai*s (Saenong, 2021, p. 131). The *Nahdlatul Watan* organization grew rapidly. From the religious discussions he did with some scholars, an Islamic school named *Tashwirul Afkar* (Beckoning to Reflection) was established in 1919 with K.H.A. Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah, as the formal leader. Around 1920, Mas Mansoer was recruited by the reformers of Muhammadiyah. Since then, Muhammadiyah established their own schools. In 1924, Kyai Wahab took the initiative and proposed to Kyai Hasyim Asyari to establish an organization as a platform for traditionalists (Masfiah, 2016). At the first time, Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari did not feel the need to form an organization. However, with the persistence of Kyai

Wahab and other external factors, Kyai Hasyim agreed to establish an organization and wrote a letter to some *kyai*s calling them to develop an organization together (Haidar, 1998, pp. 51–53).

External circumstances

The founding of NU is part of an "anti-reformist" reaction. However, according to Van Bruinessen (1994), the immediate causes of the establishment of NU were more related to the development of the international Islamic world in the mid-1920s., Bush (2009) separately argues that the motivation for founding the NU organization was primarily political rather than religious (p. 33).

In February 1924, the Kemalist government of the Turkish Republic abolished the Caliphate. This situation provided a boost to talks on Islamic political theory and efforts to build new Pan-Islamic institutions. *Khilafāt* Congress was held in Cairo in March 1925. Rashid Ridha, one of the organizers, sent an invitation to Muhammadiyah and Sarekat Islam as important organizations in Indonesia. Nevertheless, the Congress was postponed until May 1926 due to various internal constraints (Noer, 1973, p. 243). With the possible election of King Fuad as the new Caliph in Cairo *Khilafāt* Congress, Ibn Sa'ud as the ruler of the Hijaz (now Mecca and Medina), in which his position might be threatened, held a counter Congress in Mecca during June-July 1926. Muhammadiyah tended to attend the Cairo Congress due to the proximity to Rashid Ridha. On the other hand, Sarekat Islam and Indonesian traditionalists wanted to participate in the Mecca Congress. They wanted to ask for guarantees from Ibn Sa'ud, who possessed Wahabi ideology, to respect traditionally religious practices in Indonesia.

In February 1926, at the fifth congress of al-Islam in Indonesia, two delegates (Tjokroaminoto from Sarekat Islam and Mas Mansoer from Muhammadiyah) were appointed to represent Indonesian Muslims in the International Congress. The traditionalists did not get a chance. Before the International congress was held, Abdul Wahab as the spokesman of the traditionalists at the congress of al-Islam, encouraged the East Java *kyai* to send their envoys to Mecca if the elected representatives could not bring the aspirations of the traditionalists. On 31 January 1926, a committee consisting of some traditionalist *kyai*s such as K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari (Jombang), K.H. Bisri Syansuri (Jombang), K.H. Raden Asnawi (Kudus) were invited to the house of K.H. Abdul Wahab in Surabaya. In this meeting, a committee namely Hijaz committee was formed and later became the Nahdlatul Ulama organization (Aboebakar, 1957, p. 123; Fealy, 1998; Van Bruinessen, 1994, p. 29).

As noted in its statute, NU is an association or Islamic socio-religious organization which aims to provide considerable benefits to the society, develop the nation, and achieve human dignity. Besides, the organization is founded to maintain the doctrine of *Ahlussunnah wal-Jamaah* (Ar. *Ahl as-sunnah wa al-jamāʿah*)[35] which has been practiced by the

[35]*Ahlussunnah wal-Jamaah* refers to the saying of the Prophet: "The Jews split into 71 groups and Christians into 72, while my followers will split into 73. All groups will be in the hell, except one group. The companions of the

traditionalists Muslim in Indonesia. The followers of the Muhammadiyah organization as mentioned above were identified as urban and middle or upper middle-class society. The followers of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization, on the other hand, were mostly from rural areas and identified as lower middle-class society. Besides, those who had a strong base with *pesantren* was mostly joined this organization. In recent years, in line with the development of Muslims and growing urbanization in Indonesia, many of the followers of NU come from urban and middle-class societies. Likewise, many rural communities affiliate with the Muhammadiyah organization (no author, 2021; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006, p. 64).

4.3.3 **Nahdlatul Ulama**: Structure and hierarchy

The organizational structure of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization consists of central board namely *Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama* (PBNU), provincial board (*Pengurus Wilayah NU,* PWNU), regional board (*Pengurus Cabang NU,* PCNU), district board (*Majelis Wakil Cabang NU,* MWCNU), and sub-district board namely *Pengurus ranting* NU (Albani, 2015, p. 41). Each central, provincial, regional and district boards consist of advisory council (*mustasyar*), supreme council (*syuriah*), and executive council (*tanfiziyah*). Meanwhile, the sub-district board only consists of *syuriah* and *tanfiziyah.* As explained in the NU's statute chapter VIII article 17, *mustasyar* has the authority to provide advice to the NU boards according to its level. In addition, it has the duty to resolve conflict occurs within the organization. *Syuriah* is the highest leadership of the NU. It is in charge to observe the implementation of the organizational decisions according to its level. In the national level, a group of *famous ulama* known as *a'wān* are considered part of *syuriah* members who are involved in policy making in plenary meetings or deliberation forums of higher organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama Congress *(Muktamar Nahdlatul Ulama)*, the Big Conference of Nahdlatul Ulama (*Konferensi Besar Nahdlatul Ulama*), or at the National Conference (*Musyawarah Nasional*). Meanwhile, *tanfiziyah* has the duty and authority to carry out the implementation of the decisions made by the organizations according to its level (F. Ahmad, 2022).

Like the Muhammadiyah organization, NU has several institutions that function as the executors of the Nahdlatul Ulama policies related to particular community group and/or specific field. These institutions are Nahdlatul Ulama Dakwah institution *(Lembaga Dakwah Nahdlatul Ulama,* LDNU*)*, Ma'arif Nahdlatul Ulama Educational Institution *(Lembaga Pendidikan Maarif Nahdlatul Ulama*, LPMNU*)*, Nahdlatul Ulama Islamic Boarding Association *(Rabithah Ma'ahid al-Islamiyah Nahdlatul Ulama,* RMINU*)*, Nahdlatul Ulama Economic Institution *(Lembaga Perekonomian Nahdlatul Ulama,* LPNU*)*, Nahdlatul Ulama Agricultural Development Institution *(Lembaga Pengembangan Pertanian Nahdlatul*

Prophet (sahabah) asked: Who is the only saved group? Prophet replied: "Those are ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamaah (the followers of sunna and jamaah)". "What is ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā̆ah?" Ahl al-sunnah wa al- jamā̆ah is what my companions are, and I am on it". It means all Muslims who follow the practice of the Prophet and his companions. In practice, the term mostly refers to those who follow the Asy'ari and Maturidi thoughts in the field of theology, adhere to one or more the four Islamic jurisprudence *mazhab*s and practice the teachings of al-Ghazali and Junaid al-Baghdadi in the field of ethics (Zulian, 2018, p. 191).

Ulama, LPPNU*)*, Nahdlatul Ulama Family Benefit Institution *(Lembaga Kemaslahatan Keluarga Nahdlatul Ulama,* LKKNU*)*, Nahdlatul Ulama Institution for Study and Development of Human Resources *(Lembaga Kajian dan Pengembangan Sumberdaya Manusia Nahdlatul Ulama,* Lakpesdam NU*)*, Nahdlatul Ulama Legal Aid Extension Institution *(Lembaga Penyuluhan dan Bantuan Hukum Nahdlatul Ulama,* LPBHNU*)*, Indonesian Muslim Cultural Arts Institution *(Lembaga Seni Budaya Muslimin Indonesia Nahdlatul Ulama,* Lesbumi NU*)*, Nahdlatul Ulama Alms, Charity and Donation Institution *(Lembaga Amil Zakat Infak Sadaqah Nahdlatul Ulama,* LAZISNU*)*, Nahdlatul Ulama Land and Religious Endowment Institution *(Lembaga Wakaf dan Pertanahan Nahdlatul Ulama,* LWPNU*)*, Nahdlatul Ulama Bahtsul Masail Institution *(Lembaga Bahtsul Masail Nadhlatul Ulama,* LBMNU*)*, Nahdlatul Ulama Mosque Takmir Institution *(Lembaga Ta'mir Masjid Nahdlatul Ulama,* LTMNU*)*, Nahdlatul Ulama Health Institution *(Lembaga Kesehatan Nahdlatul Ulama,* LKNU*)*, Nahdlatul Ulama Astronomical Institution *(Lembaga Falakiyah Nahdlatul Ulama,* LFNU*)*, Nahdlatul Ulama Publication Institution *(Lembaga Ta'lif wan Nasyr Nahdlatul Ulama,* LTNU*)*, Nahdlatul Ulama Higher Education Institution *(Lembaga Pendidikan Tinggi Nahdlatul Ulama,* LPTNU*)*, and Nahdlatul Ulama Disaster Management and Climate Change Institution *(Lembaga Penanggulangan Bencana dan Perubahan Iklim Nahdlatul Ulama,* LPBINU*)* (Albani, 2015, pp. 42–44)**.** In addition to the aforementioned institutions, in 2022, three Agencies were established, i.e., Organizational and Cadre Administration Development Institution *(Badan pengembangan Administrasi Keorganisasian dan kader)*, International Network Development Institution *(Badan pengembangan Jaringan Internasional)*, Strategic Innovation Development Institution *(Badan pengembangan Inovasi Strategis)*.

Apart from the above mentioned institutions, several autonomous bodies are also established within the Nahdlatul Ulama. The task of these autonomous bodies is to carry out the Nahdlatul Ulama policies relating to specific community groups which consist of individuals. The autonomous bodies are divided into two categories, based on age and certain community groups, and based on professions and other specialties. The age-based and certain community group autonomous bodies are Nahdlatul Ulama female members *(Muslimat NU)*, Nahdlatul Ulama young female members *(Fatayat NU)*, Nahdlatul Ulama youth movement *(Gerakan Pemuda Ansor NU)*, Nahdlatul Ulama male student association *(Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama,* IPNU*)*, Nahdlatul Ulama female student association *(Ikatan Pelajar Putri Nahdlatul Ulama,* IPPNU*)*, Indonesian Muslim student association *(Persatuan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia,* PMII*)*. Meanwhile, the autonomous bodies within the Nahdlatul Ulama organization based on professions and other specialities are *Jam'iyyah Ahli at- Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah an-Nahdliyyah* (JATMAN) for those who follow Sufi brotherhood practices *(tarekat)*, *Jam'iyyatul Qurra' wal Huffazh* (JQHNU) for the Qur'an reciter and memorizer from the Nahdlatul Ulama members, the association for the Nahdlatul Ulama scholars *(Ikatan Sarjana Nahdlatul Ulama,* ISNU*)*, the Indonesian Muslim labour union *(Serikat Buruh Muslimin Indonesia,* SARBUMUSI*)*, *Pagar Nusa* for members who engaged in the development of martial arts, the association for the Nahdlatul Ulama teachers (*Persatuan Guru Nahdlatul Ulama,* PERGUNU), the Nahdlatul Ulama fisherman union *(Serikat*

Nelayan Nahdlatul Ulama, SNNU*),* the Nahdlatul Ulama Indonesian *hadrah* art association *(Ikatan seni Hadrah Indonesia Nahdlatul Ulama,* ISHARINU*)* (Albani, 2015, pp. 45–47).

4.3.4 Muslimat NU: The women's organization of the Nahdlatul Ulama

The Muslimat NU organization is the women's branch of the NU. It was formed officially on 29th March 1946. Unlike the Aisyiyah organization, which was developed five years after the emergence of Muhammadiyah, the Muslimat NU was recognised as the NU organization's autonomous body more than two decades after the NU was founded. In the beginning of the NU establishment, NU women played roles by giving donations and organizing activities for women. They had no voice, position or official body within the organization (Van Doorn-Harder, 2006). Nevertheless, they actively participated in the NU congress before the foundation of the Muslimat NU organization (PP. Muslimat NU, 1952, pp. 40–41). The idea of forming Muslimat NU first emerged during the 13th NU conference in Menes Banten province, 1938. With the growth of Indonesian movements including women's organization at that time, two figures, namely Ibu Djuaesih and Ibu Siti Sarah, appeared as speakers representing women participants, and they conveyed the need for NU women to have the same rights as men in receiving religious education (Syukriyah, 2016, pp. 610–611). They also expressed the urgency of establishing a women organization of NU. Their ideas, however, were disputed among the participants of the conference (*Liku-Liku Berdirinya Muslimat NU*, 2019).

A year later, precisely at the 14th NU Congress, Ibu Djuaesih was assigned to chair a special meeting for women attended by representatives from some regions in Java. Generally, the meeting resulted in two essential things. The first result was regarding the important role of the NU women within the NU organization as well as in the field of education, social, and Islamic *dakwah*. Another result was the need to form women organizations among the NU community. In the 15th NU congress in Surabaya, these results were delivered by Ibu Djuaesih. The idea regarding the important role of NU women was accepted. The Congress also decided to accept women as part of the NU organization with the name of Nahdlatul Oelama Moeslimat (NOM). Nevertheless, the Congress had yet given official recognition to form a women organization. Finally, on 29 March 1946, coincided with 26 Rabiul Akhir 1365 H, the Muslimat NU organization was formed officially (NUonline, 2021).

As mentioned in its statutes and bylaws, the Muslimat NU is Islam based organization aims to educate Indonesian women to be aware of their religion and nation. Besides, it intends to create Indonesian women, characterized by independence, having faith in God, aware of their obligations and rights according to Islamic teachings, both as individuals and as members of community (Pengurus Pusat Muslimat NU, 2000, p. 11 article 4). Like the Aisyiyah organization, the Muslimat NU programs mostly focus on education, *dakwah*, social, and health. In the field of education, for example, this organization attempts to develop the Muslimat NU educational institutions such as the Muslimat kindergarten institutions and the Qur'an learning centre by establishing some facilities, improving their

curriculum, and providing scholarships for outstanding children of Muslimat NU members. Recently, Muslimat NU has more than 16,000 Qur'an learning centres, over 9,800 Islamic Kindergartens (*Raudlatul Atfal*), and more than 6,400 Early Childhood Education (*Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini,* PAUD) (F. Ahmad, 2015). To support its educational programs, Muslimat NU initiated the establishment of the Muslimat NU educational foundation (*Yayasan Pendidikan Muslimat NU*) *"Bina Bakti Wanita"* in 1992.

In the field of *dakwah*, the Muslimat NU organization attempts to implement the notion of *amar makruf nahi munkar* among Muslim women by organizing *majelis taklim* and publishing some books. Other programs are also done in this field such as improving the quality and professionalism of Muslimat NU *muballigat*, expanding *dakwah* network by cooperating with other *dakwah* institutions, disseminating *bahtsul masail* decisions, primarily related to women issues, and others. To support the Muslimat NU programs in this field, a Muslimat and Fatayat NU preachers association with the name of *Himpunan Daiyah Muslimat dan Fatayat NU* was established in 1984. In 2011, Muslimat NU managed around 38,000 *majelis taklim.* In addition, Muslimat NU utilizes several media such as magazine, bulletin, and internet website to spread and support their *dakwah* (NUonline, 2021).

The fields of social and health are also essential in the Muslimat NU organization. Several programs are carried out in these fields such as strengthening social services through providing help to poor people, orphans, elderly, and disaster victims; increasing the awareness of women regarding the importance of healthy living style; and conducting seminars on health issues. To support those programs, Muslimat NU developed the Muslimat Welfare Foundation (*Yayasan Kesejahteraan Musimat*, YKM). The establishment of this foundation aims to manage maternity hospitals, mother and child health care centres, orphanages and polyclinics (Syukriyah, 2016, p. 616). Muslimat NU also takes care of the elderly members by building elderly homes. These elderly homes offer some Islamic teaching programs such as reading the Qur'an, provide basic Islamic jurisprudence learning and give guidance regarding religious practices. Like the Aisyiyah organization, Muslimat NU is one of the prominent women organizations in Indonesia. During long life achievement award event, Khofifah, the Muslimat NU chairwoman said that the member of Muslimat NU is estimated around 32,000,000 women (Nashrullah, 2019). This number spread across 34 regional boards in the provincial level, 524 regional boards in the municipality level, 2,295 branch subsidiary boards in the district level and 26,000 sub district boards in the village level (F. Ahmad, 2015).

As stated in its statute and noted in the previous section, within the Nahdlatul Ulama organization, the Muslimat NU organization is considered as one of the autonomous bodies of NU (Pengurus Pusat Muslimat NU, 2000, p. 10 article 1). Muslimat NU has organizational structure similar to Nahdlatul Ulama from the national level, namely the Central Board of Muslimat NU (*Pimpinan Pusat Muslimat*) to the village level, i.e., Sub District Board of Muslimat NU (*Pimpinan Ranting Muslimat*). The status of Muslimat NU as the autonomous body of NU means that this organization is part of and follows the rules, policies and decisions made by the NU organization (Albani, 2015, p. 146).

4.3.5 Religious Authority within the NU Organization: Formal and informal

4.3.5.1 Lembaga Bahtsul Masail NU: The formal religious authority institution

The Foundation of Lembaga Bahtsul Masail NU

The *Lembaga Bahtsul Masail* Nahdlatul Ulama which is usually referred as LBMNU, is a formal religious authority institution and *fatwa* agency within the Nahdlatul Ulama organization. The institution's name is taken from the Arabic words *baḥṡ* means discussion, and *al-masāil* the plural form of *al-mas'ala* means problems. The term *bahtsul masail* can be understood as a discussion conducted by scholars to respond to religious problems which require legal determination (Zulian, 2018, pp. 183, 204). Before the establishment of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization, *bahtsul masail* refers to a tradition of religious deliberation that had been practised a long time by religious scholars, particularly within the *pesantren* community. It was done as a form of scholars' responsibility in guiding the religious life of Muslims. Ali Maschan Moesa in Zulian (2018) states this fact, "*Baḥṡ al-masāil* is a tradition which had taken place long before the birth of NU when *kyai*s, senior *santri*, and alumni of *pesantren* practised a model of meeting to deduce *fatwa* from classic books they have studied. It is an indication that the tradition is only effective in the *pesantren* circle." (p. 205)

Van Bruinessen (1996) argues that *bahtsul masail* is not a new tradition. Muslim scholars in Mecca had regularly held this activity called *ḥalaqah* (meeting). Indonesian scholars who studied in Mecca later adopted this *ḥalaqah* system (p. 34). One of the institutions that implemented the *ḥalaqah* system was *Tashwirul Afkar.* Kyai Abdul Wahab was among the founders of this institution. At the beginning of its establishment*, Tashwirul Afkar* focused on discussing social and political issues. However, later on, this institution also conducted a discussion on religious matters. The Nahdlatul Ulama organization then continued the *ḥalaqah* tradition and adopted it as part of organizational activities by founding the LBMNU institution. This fact is in accordance with a study conducted by Nasih (2009) which indicates that the establishment of LBMNU was particularly inspired by the *Tashwirul Afkar* institution (p. 113).

Bahtsul masail, as part of the formal activities of the NU organization, was carried out for the first time in 1926, a few months after the NU was established, at the NU Congress I (now called *Muktamar*), on 21-23 September 1926 (Zahro, 2004, p. 68). For decades, the *bahtsul masail* forum was regarded as one of the commissions discussing congress materials and had not become a separate body or institution. At the national level, *bahtsul masail* was held together with the *Muktamar Nahdlatul Ulama*, *Konferensi Besar Nahdlatul Ulama*, the Party Council Meeting (*Rapat Dewan Partai*) – when the NU organization became a party – or at the National Conference of the Muslim Scholars (*Musyawarah Nasional Alim Ulama*). Initially, *bahtsul masail* was held annually on a national scale. This *bahtsul masail* forum were held at Congress I (1926) to Congress XV (1940). However, after 1940, the unstable

political situation due to the outbreak of World War II made the *bahtsul masail* activity during the Nahdlatul Ulama Congress was no longer held annually. Research done by Zahro (2004) shows that from 1926 to 2007, the national level of *bahtsul masail* had been held 42 times. Nevertheless, from the tracked *bahtsul masail* documents, it was believed that the *bahtsul masail* was only held 33 times which produced 505 decisions (p. 69).

After more than half a century of the NU's establishment, the central board of Nahdlatul Ulama decided to make the *bahtsul masail* forum as an official organization called *Lajnah Bahtsul Masail Diniyah*. It began from the recommendation of the 28th NU Congress in Yogyakarta in 1989. The 1st Commission in Congress recommended the central board of NU to form *Lajnah Bahtsul Masail Diniyah* as a permanent institution. To strengthen this idea, in January 1990, a workshop was held in *Pesantren Mamba'ul Ma'arif* Denanyar Jombang also recommended the formation of *Lajnah Bahtsul Masail Diniyah*. This formation was expected to consolidate NU scholars and intellectuals to perform *ijtihad jamāî* (Ka'bah, 1999, pp. 137–139; Zahro, 2004, p. 68).

Four months later, still in 1990, the central board of NU finally formed *Lajnah Bahtsul Masail Diniyah*, with the PBNU Decree number of 30 /A.I.05 /5/1990. The name of *lajnah* lasted more than a decade before it was changed into an institution named *Lembaga Bahtsul Masail Nahdlatul Ulama* abbreviated as LBMNU as stipulated in article 13 of the NU's statute and article 16 and 17 of its bylaws. Previously, the task of this institution was reviewing was reviewing the problems of laws that had not been agreed upon. Recently, however, it has expanded to discuss and solve some issues which occur among Indonesian society. Saenong (2021) states that the task of this institution is to analyse actual cases which has not found in *kitab kuning* or manual books of *fikih* (p. 142). The LBMNU members use what is relevant or analogous in these *kitab kuning* and *fikih* manuals to analyse contemporary issues. The problems are divided into thematic (*maudlūʿiyyah*), actual (*wāqiʿiyyah*) and legal (*qānūniyyah*) (Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama, 2015, p. 73).

Structurally, LBMNU is coordinated by the *Syuriah* board and is organized hierarchically. In general, the participants of the LBMNU forum consist of the members of *Syuriah*, the ulama of NU who do not have structural positions within the NU, and leaders of *pesantren* (Zulian, 2018, p. 207). According to Anis Masduqi, the secretary of the Yogyakarta LBMNU, educational background is the most important requirement to become a member of LBMNU. He states that as the *fatwa* body of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization, the prospective member of the LBMNU institution should master Islamic knowledge written in *kitab kuning*. In addition, they should have the capability in understanding *fikih* and principles of Islamic jurisprudence (Ar., *uṣūl al-fiqh*, Ind., *usul fikih*) as well as reading Islamic books (Yogyakarta, 29 August 2018).

The decision of Lembaga Bahtsul Masail NU

The LBMNU can be found at the central, provincial, and municipality levels. At the central level, the members of LBMNU specifically discuss religious problems selected from the most popular issues in Indonesia. Those issues are then discussed during *Musyawarah Nasional*

Alim Ulama and become the decisions of the central board of the Nahdlatul Ulama. At the provincial level, the board of LBMNU accept questions posed by society regularly. The issues are then discussed in a routine meeting, which is held every three months. Usually, three months prior to the meeting, different legal problems from both NU community and board are collected. The decisions made in the meeting become the decisions of the provincial LBMNU. At the municipality level, the procedure of accommodating questions is similar to that at the provincial level. The LBMNU board at the municipality level collects questions through email, WhatsApp, messages, or telephone. The questions are then stored in the questions bank of LBMNU before being discussed in a meeting conducted once in three months. The results made in the meeting become the decisions of the municipality level of LBMNU.

In decision making, the LBMNU employs the so-called *mazhab qaulī* (identifying legal status of issues in Islamic law by referring to opinions of *ulama*) (Zulian, 2018, p. 208). Besides, it uses *mazhab manhaji* (referring to the Qur'an and hadith) if needed when responding to a particular problem. However, several steps are employed in this case. First, quoting the verses of the Qur'an from the *rasm usmani mushaf* followed by the reference of the name of the *surah* as well as the number of the verse, and the Qur'anic exegesis of the Sunni ulama from the authoritative references. Second, citing the Prophetic traditions from reliable sources. Third, differentiating the consensus of the Prophet's companions (Ar., *ijmāʿ ṣaḥābī,* Ind., *ijmak sahabat*) and the consensus of independent legists *(mujtahidin)* (Tim PWNU jawa Timur, 2007, pp. 7–9). These two methods were then enriched by so-called *ijtihad mazhabi* principle through developing the principles of *ijtihad* known among Sunni scholars. In addition, according to Hosen, as cited by Zulian (2018), the scholars of NU also use the contemporary form of *ijtihad* as implemented by the Muhammadiyah scholars that is *ijtihad jamāʿī* (p. 211).

Zulian considers the LBMNU traditionalistic because it mostly follows the rulings employed by the Syafii *mazhab* in *fatwa* making. According to him, however, this institution:

> Applies principles of democracy, dynamism and open-mindedness [...] It is democratic in the sense that *bahtsul masail* will consider all opinions regardless of the status, position or age of those who present them. Furthermore, it is dynamic in the sense that legal opinion (*fatwa*) issued by LBMNU are always in response to newly emerging problems in Muslim society, while its open-mindedness features in the allowing for reference to other schools of law and the employment of "agree to disagree" principle (p. 209).

Hierarchically, the *bahtsul masail* forum held by the central LBMNU has the highest authority. However, based on the conclusion made during the *Musyawarah Nasional Alim Ulama* in Lampung 1992, the decision produced by the central LBMNU or other levels of LBMNU has the same power (Zahro, 2004, p. 77)**.** The decisions issued by the LBMNU at the central, provincial or municipality level do not bind the NU community, LBMNU members, and Muslim society in general. The decisions are only a view. The members of NU and Muslim society may obey them or choose different opinions given by other scholars.

4.3.5.2 Informal Religious Leaders

The LBMNU is the formal religious authority institution within the NU organization that provides *fatwa* or religious advice in daily life of the NU community. Although the LBMNU forums are participated by the members of *Syuriah*, the boards of LBMNU and some invited ulama who do not sit in the organizational structure, only a few members of NU are appointed to be the LBMNU boards. Individual agents, however, may gain status as informal religious authorities and are recognized as ulama among the NU community if they demonstrate symbolic capital in accordance with the field.

According to the chairman of the East Java PWNU, K.H. Marzuki Mustamar, there are some requirements should be fulfilled to become an ulama. For example, having knowledge of Islamic texts such as the Qur'an and the hadith as well as the various tools for understanding and deducing laws from the Qur'an and the hadith. Similarly, K.H. Ahsin Sakho, the head of the JQHNU said at the opening of the fourth JQHNU National Conference in Pontianak West Kalimantan, that the ability of the NU ulama can be seen from their mastery of *kitab kuning* and understanding the text of the Qur'an. Other important capital to be recognized as ulama are piety and maintaining a good relationship with society (Alawi, 2012, 2018). In other words, those who have cultural capital and social capital in accordance with the field may gain a position as formal or informal religious authority within the NU organization.

A study conducted by Arifianto (2017) demonstrates important facts regarding the authority of formal and informal religious authority agents within the NU communities. He argues that within the NU organization, the authority of local religious figures such as *kyai*s, particularly who own *pesantren* are higher than the NU leaderships including the formal religious authority institution. The reason is because these individual *kyai*s who establish *pesantren* gain many students and followers in the local setting. Therefore, they achieve more power and authority. However, these power and authority are not transferred into the leadership boards of the NU. This circumstance makes local religious authority figures have significant influence and the final decision over religious matters (p. 258). Similarly, One of the LBMNU representatives in Yogyakarta, Anis Masduqi also told me about this matter during our interview:

> The NU community (including Muslimat NU) tends to follow a *fatwa* given by local *kyai* (or *nyai*). Not all members follow the decisions of LBMNU even though it is regarded as the formal religious authority of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization. Many prefer to pose questions (on religious issues) to their local *kyai* (or *nyai*). It is one of the special characteristics of NU […] besides, even though the decisions of the LBMNU are used as references, not all *kyai*s (or *nyai*s) within the NU organization refer to these decisions (Bantul, 29th August 2018).

4.3.6 Nahdlatul Ulama: Thoughts and views

4.3.6.1 On Women, Their Role and Authority

NU's view on women, their role and authority in particular within the organization and public spheres, can be seen from various aspects such as its attitude toward gender issues, its formal decisions regarding women, and the position it gives for women within or outside the organization. Regarding gender issues, a study conducted by Rahmawati (2015) reveals that NU's representatives are accommodative toward gender issues such as equality and women's empowerment. Many NU's figures outside the structure of the NU organization also view that men and women have the same rights and opportunities in different aspects of life.

NU promotes a view in which women's roles in public spaces are not understood as contrary to Islamic tenets. Therefore, women can play essential roles both in domestic and public areas. Besides, they may gain the same positions as men in public settings. Some decisions regarding women and their roles in public settings were issued by the NU organization through the LBMNU forum, *Musyawarah Nasional Alim Ulama,* or NU *muktamar.* Roviana (2014) states that in 1953, NU issued a *fatwa* allowing women to become a judge in a religious court. During the NU *muktamar* in Salatiga Central Java in 1962, *syuriah* boards of NU issued a *fatwa* permitting women to become head of village (*kepala desa*). During *Musyawarah Nasional Alim Ulama* in Lombok in 1997, NU scholars decided that women can become president. Other important decisions made during this conference were: First, Islam recognizes the existence of women as whole human beings and therefore deserve respect. Second, Islam recognizes equality between men and women regarding the dedication to their religion and country. Third, Islam recognizes different functions played by men and women due to their natural differences. Fourth, Islam recognizes the roles for women in public spheres in addition to their domestic roles. Fifth, Islam gives women the same rights as men. However, different social and cultural contexts can cause severe distortion of the understanding of the Islamic texts (Sundari, 2017, pp. 108–109).

Structurally, male and female members of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization are segregated. As the autonomous body and women's organization of NU, Muslimat NU focuses on implementing NU's policies among female members. Bush (2009) argues that although NU is known as a moderate Islamic organization, the patriarchal norms are still rooted. For instance, no woman had occupied a position as the Nahdlatul Ulama boards (p. 159). Nevertheless, in 1960, NU made an important decision to appoint some *nyai*s as the Nahdlatul Ulama central boards members. They are Fatimah, Mahmudah Mawardi, and Choiriyah Hasyim (Sundari, 2017). In 2015, seven women occupied positions as members of *a'wan* (Albani, 2015, p. 7). These seven ulama were Shinta Nuriyah, Mahfudhoh Aly Ubaid, Nafisah Sahal Mahfudh, Chuzaimah T. Yanggo, Faizah Ali Sibromalisi, Ibtisyaroh, and Sri Mulyati. In 2022 during the leadership of Yahya Cholil Tsaquf, several Muslimat NU figures were appointed as the NU central board. They are Nafisah Sahal Mahfudz, Shinta Nuriyah, Mahfudhoh Aly Ubaid as members of *mustasyar*; Nafisah Ali Maksum, Badriyah Fayumi, Ida Fatimah Zainal, Faizah Ali Sibromalisi, and Masryah Amva as members of

a'wan; also Khofifah Indar Parawansa and Alissa Qatrunnada Wahid as members of *tanfidziyah* (Keputusan Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama Nomor: 01/A.II.04/01/2022 tentang pengesahan susunan pengurus besar Nahdlatul Ulama masa khidmat 2022-2027).

Besides the above positions, Muslimat NU members have had significant positions in the NU institutions boards, such as *Lembaga Pendidikan Maarif Nahdlatul Ulama, Lembaga Dakwah Nahdlatul Ulama, Lembaga Perekonomian Nahdlatul Ulama, Lembaga Kemaslahatan Keluarga Nahdlatul Ulama,* and *Lembaga Seni Budaya Muslimin Indonesia Nahdlatul Ulama* until now (Albani, 2015). In the leadership of Yahya Cholil Tsaquf (2022-2027) some women sat in the leadership structure of the NU institutions. For instance, Hindun Anisah as the secretary of RMINU, Ai Maryati Sholihah as the secretary of LKKNU, Inayah Wahid as the secretary of Lesbumi NU, Alai Nadjib as the secretary of LBMNU, Citra Fitri Agustina as the secretary of LKNU, Hijroatul Maghfiroh as the secretary of *Badan Pengembangan Jaringan Internasional*, and Zanubba Arifah Chafsoh as the leader of *Badan Pengembangan Inovasi Strategis* (Syakir, 2022). Female members of NU with the positions as members of the NU *mustasyar*, *syuriah*, *a'wan*, *tanfiziyah,* or institutions and agencies have the equal right and authority with male members in the same positions.

Before 2022, no one of the NU women occupied a position as member of the LBMNU board. However, Mursyidah Thahir, the representative of the Muslimat NU central board, said in an interview I did during *Musyawarah Nasional Alim Ulama* in Banjar West Java 2019, that although there are no female representative sits on the LBMNU board – central, provincial and regional–, some Muslimat NU representatives from the central board are involved in the *Musyawarah Nasional Alim Ulama*, as one of the LBMNU activity. She further explained that in the *Musyawarah Nasional Alim Ulama*, the Muslimat NU representatives from the central board have the right to express their opinions, participate actively in the discussions, and have essential roles in making decisions regarding religious problems (Banjar, 2019). Srimulyani (2012), in her research, also reveals that in the past, Nyai Khoiriyah, the daughter of K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari, participated in the *bahtsul masail* forum (p. 91). As mentioned earlier, since 2022, female members of NU were appointed as members of the LBMNU. Besides actively participating in *Musyawarah Nasional Alim Ulama* or *bahtsul masail* forum and becoming the member of formal religious authority institution of NU, many NU women, particularly from the *pesantren* circle, are recognised as religious authorities within Muslim society.

The Nahdlatul Ulama organization was founded by some *kyai*s*,* with the majority of its followers came from the *pesantren* community. As a traditional educational institution, *pesantren* is said to preserve patriarchal norms (Kholifah, 2013; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006), such as *kyai*s having absolute power while *nyai*s never achieved essential values positions. Steenbrink for instance, argues that "the wives of *kyai*s never achieved significant roles" (Steenbrink, 1986, p. 126). Some later studies, however, show that women from the *pesantren* circle mastered a number of Islamic texts and gained status as ulama. In addition, they were involved in the *pesantren*'s leadership and engaged in the public activities outside *pesantren* (Srimulyani, 2012, p. 15). As noted in chapter One, until the early twentieth century, *pesantren* only taught male students, and women did not have access to education in *pesantren.* Around the 1920s or early 1930s, some *kyai*s paid great attention to women's

education and empowerment by opening female-only *pesantren*. Since 1930, women from the *pesantren* circle have essential roles within domestic spheres and public settings. In particular, when the NU Congress in Surakarta in 1935 issued a decision allowing women to participate in the *dakwah* stage (LTN-PBNU, 2011) Since then, many of them become ulama and leaders of *pesantren*s or Islamic institutions (Indriati, 2014; Khodafi, 2015; Razak & Mundzir, 2019). Like in the Muhammadiyah organization, theoretically, female members of NU, from or outside the *pesantren* setting may gain position as religious authority if they hold various kinds of capital in accordance with the field of this organization. Until now, many female members of NU are recognised as informal religious authorities, particularly within their local communities.

4.3.6.2 In the Field of Theology, Islamic Jurisprudence, and Ethic

As a traditionalist organization, NU has a different religious idea from the modernist ones. In general, NU adheres to the thoughts of *Ahlussunnah wal-Jamaah* or *aswaja* (see footnote no. 35) as mentioned earlier and takes a middle ground between rationalist and scripturalist. The main features of NU's *aswaja* are moderation (Ar., *tawassuṭ*), balance (Ar., *tawāzun*), tolerance (Ind., *tasamuh,* Ar., *tasāmuḥ*), and *amar makruf nahi munkar* (Muzadi, 2006, p. 27). NU does not only derive its religious understanding from the Qur'an and the hadith, but also uses reasoning and considers context (Albani, 2015, p. 40). In the field of Theology, NU follows the ideas of Abu Hasan al-Asy'ari (d. 935 M) and al-Maturidi (d. 944 M) whose teachings became the main joint of Sunni theology standard (Nakamura, 1981, p. 190; Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama, 2015, p. 35).

In terms of jurisprudence, NU follows one of the four *mazhab* scholars, namely, Abu Hanifah (d. 767 M), Malik ibn Anas (d. 795 M), Syafii (d. 820 M), and Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855 M) (Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama, 2015, p. 38; Siddiq, 1969, p. 30). Among the four *mazhab*s, NU scholars mainly refer to Syafii. Apart from following *mazhab* scholars, NU tends to regulate the use of *ijtihad* because NU believes that finding someone who can fulfil the criteria of an authoritative interpreter of the Islamic law *(mujtahid)* in the twentieth century is not easy. In the view of the Nahdlatul Ulama scholars, following the scholars of *mazhab*, which is considered by the reformists as *taklid,* is the best way to understand Islamic sources. The companions of the Prophet (Ar., *saḥābah,* Ind., *sahabat*) and the generations after the *sahabat* including the *mazhab* scholars are regarded as those who could understand and interpret the Qur'an and the hadith better than anyone else (F. Ismail, 2002, p. 65; Siddiq, 1969, p. 30).

Furthermore, as stated by Zulian (2018), NU believes that adopting *mazhab* is a "scientific responsibility that allows for mutual respect for NU's religious scholars (*ulama*), leaders (*imams*) of schools of law (*mazhab*) and their followers" (p. 196). However, although NU has declared to follow the *mazhab* scholars, it does not mean that NU accepts legal opinions without critical thinking or what is known as blind *taklid* (*taklid buta*). Those who have the knowledge and ability to study Islamic laws from the books written by ulama as the authoritative legal scholars are not allowed to accept the thoughts without understanding the

arguments. On the other hand, those who do not have this ability, *taklid* is the best way for them (F. Ismail, 2002, pp. 71–72; Siddiq, 1969, p. 31).

In the field of ethics, NU refers to the two famous Islamic Sufi scholars in Islam, Junaid al-Baghdadi (d. 910 M) and al-Ghazali (d. 1111). Both advocated mystical practices that refer to Islamic teachings. They attempted to integrate between the two orientations, *syariah* and essence. For instance, al-Ghazali believed that religious rituals should be practiced according to the formalities of Islamic jurisprudence. At the same time, the rituals should be performed with the understanding of their meaning and significance (Rumadi, 2015, p. 64). Unlike the Muhammadiyah organization which tends to stay away from the practice of Sufism and the institution of tarekat, "NU is known as a community that highly regards the Sufi tradition, especially as it exists in Sufi tarekat" as written by Rumadi in his book "Islamic Post-Traditionalism in Indonesia" (p. 62).

The views of the NU organization in this field can also be referred to the opinion of its founder, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari. In his view, there are four regulations that one should adhere when joining a *tarekat.* Khuluq in Rumadi mentioned these requirements: "(1) avoiding authorities who do not uphold principles of justice; (2) respecting those who try with all sincerity to attain happiness in the world and hereafter; (3) helping the poor; and (4) praying together in a congregation." (p. 65). His ideas were regarded as the continuation of al-Ghazali's thought in which the model of Sufism should be in accordance with Islamic doctrine. To support this idea, in 1957, the NU *kyai*s established a *tarekat* association, *Jam'iyyah Ahli at-Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah,* which aims to be the umbrella for all tarekat groups which are regarded as valid (*mu*ṫ*abarah*). Then, in 1979, the NU organization formed an institution to control the accepted *mu*ṫ*abarah* tarekat groups followed by the NU communities namely *Jam'iyyah Ahli at-Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah an-Nahdliyyah* abbreviated as JATMAN. The word an-Nahdliyyah was added to distinguish itself from similar organizations that are not part of this NU institution (Ensiklopedia NU, 2019).

4.3.6.3 Its Attitudes Toward Local Culture and the Issue of Bid'ah

Unlike the Muhammadiyah which tends to be less positive towards local cultures, NU, as the traditionalist Muslim Sufi community is considered more open to local cultures. NU attempts to preserve local customs. These local cultures nevertheless should be practised within the framework of Islamic teachings. NU believes that non-Islamic customs can be legally taken and implemented as far as they are not contrary to Islamic tenets. According to Siddiq (1969), the NU community believes that truth and goodness come from God, which can be given to humans in the past, present and future. Good traditions originating from anywhere should be maintained and developed, whereas contrary customs to Islamic teachings originating from anywhere should be prevented (p. 32).

Recently, there has been a growing popularity of the so-called Islam Nusantara, which emerged and famous as a new brand of NU. The *Islam Nusantara* term was used officially for the first time as the theme of the 33rd NU congress '*Meneguhkan Islam Nusantara untuk peradaban Indonesia dan dunia*' (Strengthening the Archipelago Islam for

the Indonesian and world civilization). This congress was held from 1st to 5th August 2015 in Jombang East Java (Alawi, 2015; Burhani, 2018a). On 13 February 2016, the provincial board of LBMNU in East Java issued several decisions concerning *Islam Nusantara* (PWNU Jawa Timur, 2016). *Islam Nusantara* was also promoted by the chairman of NU organization, Said Aqil Siradj, during the International conference of Moderate Islamic Leaders (ISOMIL), which took place in Jakarta from 9 to 11 May 2016 (Arifianto, 2016; Khoiri, 2016). During *Musyawarah Nasional Alim Ulama* in Banjar West Java from 27th February to 1st March 2019, the NU scholars agreed about the definition of *Islam Nusantara,* i.e., 'Islam of *Ahlussunnah wal jama'ah* which is practised, propagated and developed by its preachers according to the characteristic and culture of the Indonesia archipelago people' (Banjar West Java, 28 February 2019). This definition is similar to that has been decided by the provincial board of LBMNU in East Java that *Islam Nusantara* is 'Islam of *Ahlussunnah wal jama'ah* which is practiced, propagated, and developed by its preacher in the Archipelago' (PWNU Jawa Timur, 2016, p. 4). By promoting *Islam Nusantara*, the attitude of NU organization towards local culture has become more clearly.

Although the term *Islam Nusantara* has only been famous recently, Burhani (2018a) argues that the use of this term or its meaning can be traced back to before it became the new brand of NU. For instance, *Islam Nusantara* was used as a book title written by Azyumardi Azra '*Islam Nusantara: Jaringan Global dan Lokal*' in 2002 (Azra, 2002b). The meaning of Islam Nusantara is similar to the idea of *pribumisasi Islam* (indigenization of Islam) expressed by the former chairman of NU, Abdurrahman Wahid or Gus Dur in his book '*Pergulatan Negara, Agama dan Kebudayaan*' (A. Wahid, 2001). Besides being mentioned in these literatures. The idea of *Islam Nusantara* is similar to the notion of Indonesian *fikih* (*fikih* Indonesia) promoted by Hasbi al-Shiddiquie, National *mazhab* (*madzhab Nasional*) from Hazairin and contextualization (*kontekstualisasi*) from Munawir Sjadzali.

Based on the decisions made by the provincial board of LBMNU in East Java and the East Java provincial board of NU on 13th January 2016, there are four ways to deal with local culture in the framework of *Islam Nusantara*. The first strategy is adaptation (*adaptasi*). Adaptation is used when the cultures are not contradictory to *Syari'ah*, whether they emerge after or before the development of Islam. Second, neutralization (*netralisasi*). The neutralization is employed if the traditions consist of prohibited (*haram*) beliefs or practices. In this case, the *haram* beliefs or practices should be thrown while the rest customs should be maintained. The third strategy is reduction (*pengurangan*). If the *haram* part of the customs cannot be eliminated, NU community should minimize the practice of these traditions. The fourth strategy is amputation (*amputasi*). The last way to deal with local cultures is amputation or cutting. If the cultures are believed not to be in accordance with *Syari'ah*, they should be rejected, such as the practice of animism and dynamism (PWNU Jawa Timur, 2016, p. 15). Organizationally, the Nahdlatul Ulama, including the Muslimat NU organizations, choose not to destroy local cultures. Instead, they attempt to preserve local cultures while inserting some Islamic teachings and values.

The decision of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization to preserve local cultures and elaborate some ritual practices that have no precedent in the Prophet's time and his companions is often considered by other Muslim communities as *bid'ah* (see chapter One

section Islamic ritual). The NU organization, however, has a different understanding related to the issue of *bid'ah*. The founder of the NU organization, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari, in his book *Risalah Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah: Analisis Tentang Hadis Kematian, Tanda-tanda Kiamat, dan Pemahaman Tentang Sunnah dan Bid'ah* (LTM PBNU, Jakarta, 2011) referred to Ibn Abd as-Salām and divided *bid'ah* into five categories.[36] First, *bid'ah wajib* (literally means obligatory innovation), such as learning Arabic language to help Muslims in understanding their religion. Second, *bid'ah haram* literally means prohibited innovation, such as an Islamic philosophical school, Jabariyyah, which argues that human is controlled by predestination without having free choice. Third, *bid'ah sunnah* (literally means recommended innovation), such as building a *pesantren* or *madrasah.* Fourth, *bid'ah makruh* (literally means reprehensible innovation), such as tearing the page of *mushaf* (the copy of the Qur'an). And the last is *bid'ah mubah* (literally means permissible innovation), such as greeting each other after performing obligatory prayers (pp.10-11).

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented different contexts of two patriarchal religious organizations in which the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU compete for a position, exercise agency, and play their roles. As noted in the beginning of this chapter, to study a field, three interrelated steps are taken into consideration. Before analysing further how individual agents gain a particular position and how are their habitus within the fields in the next chapters, here, I have briefly described the position of the field vis-à-vis the field of power, the relations between the positions occupied by agents within the field, what is "legitimate" in the field and what are the field rules followed by the agents.

Muhammadiyah, with about thirty million members and sympathizers (Qibtiyah, 2020) and Nahdlatul Ulama, with more than ninety million members and sympathizers (Winn, 2019), are considered the two largest Muslim organizations in Indonesia. Muhammadiyah was founded by K.H.A. Dahlan, an ulama and Muslim activist, on 18 November 1912 in Yogyakarta province. On the other hand, NU was established almost 14 years later, on 31 January 1926, by some *kyai*s from the *pesantren* circle in Surabaya East Java province. Muhammadiyah is often considered a modernist movement, inspired mainly by the reform idea of Muhammad Abduh, who tried to bring the Muslim faith into harmony with modern thought. Muhammadiyah attempts to 'purify' Islamic beliefs and practices from non-Islamic customs. To achieve this aim, Muhammadiyah establishes modern Islamic schools, orphanages, hospitals, and other social institutions. Unlike Muhammadiyah, NU is often considered a traditionalist movement. NU attempts to defend traditionalist Islamic practices and maintain local traditions as long as they do not contradict Islamic teachings. The education of this organization is mostly centred on *pesantren*. However, in 1928, it

[36] I have discussed the opinion of Ibn Abd as-Salām on the issue of *bid'ah* and its categorization in chapter One section Islamic ritual. He divided *bid'ah* into *bid'ah wājibah* (literally means obligatory innovation), *bid'ah muḥarramah* (literally means prohibited innovation), *bid'ah mandūbah* (literally means recommended innovation), *bid'ah makrūhah* (literally means reprehensible innovation), and *bid'ah mubāḥah* (literally means permissible innovation).

adopted several renewal ideas in the field of education and social such as building *madrasahs* in addition to *pesantren* and orphanages.

The structure of the Muhammadiyah organization consists of central, provincial, regional, district, and sub-district executives namely Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Pimpinan Wilayah Muhammadiyah, Pimpinan Cabang Muhammadiyah, and Pimpinan Ranting Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah has thirteen councils that assist the Muhammadiyah executives in implementing Muhammadiyah's primary tasks. *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*, the formal religious authority body, is among these thirteen councils. Besides councils, Muhammadiyah has eight institutions that help the organization in implementing supporting tasks. Within the Muhammadiyah organization, seven autonomous organizations are formed and controlled by the Muhammadiyah organization. These autonomous organizations have a structure network similar to the Muhammadiyah organization, ranging from the central, provincial, regional, district, and sub-district levels. Aisyiyah, the women's organization of Muhammadiyah, is one of Muhammadiyah's autonomous organizations. Aisyiyah was established by K.H.A. Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah, on 19 May 1917. It has a similar structure as Muhammadiyah, which consists of central to sub-district executives. Aisyiyah is a special autonomous organization of Muhammadiyah. Aisyiyah is given the right to manage its own organization. Nevertheless, as part of the Muhammadiyah organization, it is obliged to follow the decision made by the Muhammadiyah, and report all of their activities to the organization.

Like the Muhammadiyah organization, the structure of the NU organization consists of central, provincial, regional, district, and sub-district boards. They are Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama, Pengurus Wilayah Nahdlatul Ulama, Pengurus Cabang Nahdlatul Ulama, Majelis Wakil Cabang Nahdlatul Ulama, and Pengurus Ranting Nahdlatul Ulama. Like the Muhammadiyah organization, NU has seventeen institutions that function as the implementer of the Nahdlatul Ulama policies related to particular community group and/or specific field. LBMNU, the formal religious authority institution within the NU was among these seventeen institutions. Apart from establishing the institutions, several autonomous bodies are founded within the Nahdlatul Ulama. The task of these autonomous bodies is to carry out the Nahdlatul Ulama policies relating to specific community groups which consist of individuals. The autonomous bodies are divided into age-based and certain community groups as well as professions and other specialities-based groups. Muslimat NU, the women's organization of the NU, is among the autonomous bodies of NU. Officially, it was established on 29 March 1946. Muslimat NU has an organizational structure similar to Nahdlatul Ulama from the national to the village level. The status of Muslimat NU as the autonomous body of NU means that this organization is part of and follows the rules, policies and decisions made by the NU organization.

In the Muhammadiyah organization, *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* is the only formal religious authority institution that provides *fatwa* or religious advice, particularly for the Muhammadiyah community. Only a few members of Muhammadiyah, both male and female, can achieve the position as the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* boards. However, female ulama were not given official position within this Majelis until 1995. Since 1995, female ulama have been members of the central boards of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*. Outside the *Majelis*

Tarjih dan Tajdid, individual agents both male and female members of Muhammadiyah may gain status as informal religious authorities and are recognized as ulama among the Muhammadiyah community if they demonstrate symbolic capital in accordance with the organization. Female members of Muhammadiyah have been participating in *dakwah* activities and become *muballigat* since 1930s.

Like the Muhammadiyah, in the NU organization, LBMNU is the formal religious authority institution. Previously, only male ulama were appointed as members of this institution. Since 2022, female ulama are given position as the members of LBMNU central boards. Outside this institution, those (male and female members) who exhibit symbolic capital in accordance with the NU organization may be recognized as informal religious authorities. A few women of the *pesantren* circle, in which the NU organization was founded, have been participating in the *dakwah* activities by being religious teachers before the establishment of this organization. For instance, in 1919, Nyai Nurkhodijah taught female students Islamic knowledge in her private house. After having access in education around the 1920s and 1930s, many women of NU achieve recognition as ulama, in particular after the NU organization issued a decision allowing women to participate in *dakwah* stage in 1935.

From the beginning of its establishment, Muhammadiyah allowed women to participate in education. However, the formal recognition of the roles of women in the public space occurred in 1970s. For instance, in public spaces, Muhammadiyah allows its female members to become judges, school companies, directors, regents, politicians, or any occupation in society. Unlike the Muhammadiyah, NU did not give women opportunity to do various tasks in public spheres from the beginning of its establishment. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, since 1935 women might involve in *dakwah* activities. When the Muslimat NU was founded in 1946, women of NU were given a greater opportunity to do activities beyond the domestic spheres. In 1953, NU issued a *fatwa* allowing women to become judges in religious courts. In 1962, *syuriah* boards of NU issued a *fatwa* permitting women to become head of village. In 1997, NU ulama even decided that a woman might become a president.

Within the patriarchal organizations, both Muhammadiyah and NU also provide a chance for women to sit as board members. Women of Muhammadiyah are appointed as members of the Muhammadiyah councils and institutions. Furthermore, in 2005, the chairwoman of the Aisyiyah central executive is given an ex-officio status which means besides being the Aisyiyah leader, she becomes one of the leaders of the Muhammadiyah central executive. Women of NU are also chosen as members of NU central boards. Before 1960, no female members had occupied position as the NU boards. Since 1960, some of them sit as the *syuriah, a'wan* and *tanfiziyah* members of the NU central boards. Besides, many of them have significant positions as the board members of the NU institutions.

The religious self-understanding of Muhammadiyah and NU, as well as their attitude towards local culture, are different. Muhammadiyah attempt to reform and adapt Islamic thoughts and practices to the contemporary world by returning to the authority of the Qur'an and the Prophetic tradition. Accordingly, instead of following the *mazhab* scholars, Muhammadiyah chooses to refer to the Qur'an and hadith directly and rely on *ijtihad* instead of *taklid.* In the field of ethics, Muhammadiyah relies on the moral teachings contained in the

Qur'an and hadith. As the reformist organization that actively promotes the idea of purification and opposes the practices of *tahayul, bid'ah* and *khurafat*, Muhammadiyah is regarded by others to be less positive towards the practice of Sufism or *tarekat* as its institution. Since the 1970s, Muhammadiyah had been criticized for the "spiritual dryness". The central board of Muhammadiyah at the time acknowledged this fact and recognized the need to "turn to spirituality". Therefore, after its *Muktamar* in 1995, Muhammadiyah was considered more open and showed a more accommodative attitude, especially towards the new style of Sufism famous by Neo-Sufism.

Muhammadiyah's attitude towards local culture is ambiguous and is changing over time. A few scholars indicate that Muhammadiyah did not challenge or marginalise Javanese culture in its earlier stages. Nevertheless, this attitude changed after the formation of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* in 1927 with its *syari'ah* orientation. Before the establishment of the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*, Muhammadiyah mostly focused on educational and social reformation. After the establishment of the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*, Muhammadiyah became more concerned about the religious practices of its members. The influence of Sumatran leader Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah known as Haji Rasul in the Muhammadiyah Congress in 1930 was also believed as another factor of this changing attitude. In the 2002, after receiving various kinds of criticism on its unappreciative attitude towards local culture, Muhammadiyah felt the need to be more appreciative of local culture in developing its religious propagation. Therefore, Muhammadiyah developed the concept of *dakwah kultural* to synergize between accommodating some parts of local customs which are compatible with Islamic teachings and purifying Islamic beliefs and practices by abandoning 'rejected' local customs. Muhammadiyah organization chooses to maintain original Islamic culture while selectively acquiring some elements of Javanese culture. When local traditions are at odds with Islamic teachings, Muhammadiyah organization attempts to separate from the traditions. Nevertheless, the organization accept some parts of the tradition which are in line with Islamic teachings.

As a traditionalist organization, NU has a different religious idea from the modernist ones. In general, NU adheres to the thoughts of *Ahlussunnah wal-Jamaah* or *aswaja.* NU does not only derive its religious understanding from the Qur'an and the hadith but also uses reasoning and considers context. In the field of Theology, NU follows the ideas of Abu Hasan al-Asy'ari (d. 935 M) and al-Maturidi (d. 944 M) whose teachings became the main joint of Sunni theology standard. In terms of jurisprudence, Abu Hanifah (d. 767 M), Malik ibn Anas (d. 795 M), Syafii (d. 820 M), and Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855 M). Apart from following *mazhab* scholars, NU tends to regulate the use of *ijtihad.* In the field of ethics, NU refers to the two famous Islamic Sufi scholars in Islam, (d. 910 M) and al-Ghazali (d. 1111) and advocate mystical practices that refer to Islamic teachings.

Unlike the Muhammadiyah, NU shows more positive attitude towards local cultures. There are four strategies the NU organization uses to deal with the issue of acculturation. The first strategy is adaptation (*adaptasi*). Adaptation is used when the cultures are not contradictory to *Syari'ah*, whether they emerge after or before the development of Islam. Here, changes are made in response to the interaction between Islam and local cultures. NU accepts the local cultures as long as they do not contradict to Islamic teachings. Second,

neutralization (*netralisasi*). The neutralization is employed if the traditions consist of prohibited (*haram*) beliefs or practices. In this case, the *haram* beliefs or practices should be thrown while the rest customs should be maintained. The third strategy is reduction (*pengurangan*). If the *haram* part of the customs cannot be eliminated, NU community attempts to minimize the practice of these traditions. The fourth way is amputation (*amputasi*). The last way to deal with local cultures is amputation or cutting. If the cultures are believed not to be in accordance with *Syari'ah*, they should be rejected.

The decision of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization to preserve local cultures results in elaborating some ritual practices that have no precedent in the Prophet's time and his companions. As discussed in chapter One, this act is considered *bid'ah.* The NU organization views that not all new practice is *bid'ah* which should be avoided. Instead, referring to Ibn Abd as-Salām, the NU organization divides *bid'ah* into five categories, they are *bid'ah wajib*, *bid'ah haram bid'ah sunnah, bid'ah makruh,* and *bid'ah mubah.* In the view of the NU organization, the elaboration of ritual practices by accommodating local traditions can be included in the category of *bid'ah wajib*, *bid'ah haram, bid'ah sunnah, bid'ah makruh,* and *bid'ah mubah* depending on the compatibility of the local cultures with Islamic teachings.

Chapter 5
Reciting the Qur'an in Daily Life: Habitus and Motivations

5.1 Introduction

In chapter One, I explained that this study focuses on the practices of the Qur'an recitation in the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals. Despite this particular focus, in this chapter I introduce some general information regarding the habitus and motivations of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul in reciting the Qur'an. I include this information since it helps us to understand how important this practice is for them. Furthermore, their habitus and motivations influence how the recitation of the Qur'an is practiced in various public gatherings. The first part of this chapter, section 5.2, discusses the habitus and motivations of the Aisyiyah communities in reciting the Qur'an that I found during my fieldwork in Jombang and Bantul. The second part of this chapter, section 5.3, focuses on the habitus and motivations in reciting the Qur'an that I discovered among the Muslimat NU communities in both regencies.

5.2 The Recitation of the Qur'an Among the Aisyiyah Communities in Jombang and Bantul

5.2.1 Habitus

In this section, I take up some of the narratives of the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul to take a closer look at their individual habitus of reciting the Qur'an.

Bu Dwi, a 70-year-old retired civil servant, a housewife and Aisyiyah sympathizer in Jombang with senior high school educational background, gave the following explanation:

> At least, I read one *juz*[37] (of the Qur'anic verses) per day. Sometimes, I divide the *juz* into some parts; each part consists of several verses. This division makes it easier for me to read. For instance, I read them after *asar* prayer, *isya* prayer, or night (Ar., *tahajjud*, Ind., *tahajud*) prayer. I try to read the verses with their meaning (in Bahasa Indonesia) because I cannot understand the contents if I just read Arabic. The Qur'an is a guide, so we must understand the meaning. […] Besides reading the Qur'an

[37] (Ar., *juz'*) literally means part. The Qur'an is divided into thirty parts. Each part consists of one *surah* or more. The first part of the Qur'an for instance, only has two surahs in it, they are surah al-Fātiḥah and surah al-Baqarah while the last part of the Qur'an has more than thirty short surahs.

> alone, there are times I recite the Qur'an together with some neighbours surrounding my house. We gather in a mosque nearby in the first week of every month. In the third week of the month, I participate elsewhere for complete reading the Qur'an (*khatmul Qur'an)*. Usually, those who join the *khatmul Qur'an* use a single *juz mushaf*. After finishing reading one *juz*, they can put the *mushaf* back and take another *mushaf* containing another *juz*. I read a hadith that whoever performs *zikir,* including reading the Qur'an in a group, the angels will shade (the group) with their wings, and the sins of people joining the gathering (*majlis*) will be forgiven. Also, the intention of joining a communal recitation is to gain a friendship (*silaturrahim*). That is why I also tried to join it (the communal Qur'an recitation) […] once, my parents advised me to read *surah al-Kahfi* on Thursday evening or Friday to get a luminous face. Since childhood, I have been very eager to read the *surah (al-Kahfi)* because I thought my face would become pretty. But, after studying more, I know that the glowing face will appear later in the hereafter. Besides *surah al-Kahfi*, I also read surah Nuh, surah al-Wāqi'ah, and *surah Tabārak*[38]. My dad said that reading surah Tabarak would free us from the punishments in the grave. Reading *al-Wāqi'ah* will free us from poverty. Meanwhile, *surah Nūh* can ease our life, and God will help us. I often think that my life was hard, but I am glad because I am good now. *surah Nūh* is read every day while the other three *surahs* are read on Friday (Jombang, 25th February 2018).

Here, another informant, Bu Ina, a 60-year-old housewife and a member of Aisyiyah in Jombang with senior high school educational background, shared her habitus in reading the Qur'an:

> I read the Qur'an every day. I am sorry; actually, I do not want to show off. If I do not read the Qur'an for a day, I feel indebted to Allah the Almighty. I feel worried and say (to myself), why don't I have the time to read the Qur'an today? When the recitation comes to the end of the Qur'an or I have completed reading all the verses, I start over from the beginning of the Qur'an again […] For me, (the recitation) time is not determined. I usually read (the Qur'an) whenever I can. Most of the time, I read it after *maghrib* prayer. The most important is that every day I have to read the Qur'an. […] Besides reading the Qur'an alone, I also read it with my grandchildren while teaching them how to recite this book of Allah. I seldom read the Qur'an with other people in this neighbourhood because of our different backgrounds. Most of them are NU followers. I am the only Muhammadiyah's member here. They often hold *Yāsīnan* (reading *surah Yāsīn* together) […] It is usually opened with Yāsīn and *tahlil*. I think it is good to open an event with (reading) *bismillah* (in the name of God) (instead of reading *Yāsīn* and *tahlil*) if the event has a limited time. (Also) reading some verses of the Holy Qur'an and their translation is better, so everyone can understand what the verses mean. I like the short one (like opening an event with reading *bismillah*) just like I usually perform during a *pengajian* or Qur'an recitation and study event held by the Aisyiyah community (in this city), so we can have enough time to learn (Islamic) knowledge from the *ustaz or ustazah* […] Usually, I read the beginning and the end of surah al-Baqarah in the morning. That

[38] In the *mushaf*, this *surah* is called *surah* al-Mulk, which means kingdom. The *surah* has other names such as Tabarak which is taken from the first word of the *surah*.

> has been common (for me), and the intention is for *zikir*. Usually, I read and memorize them too, but it is not easy because I am old now. In addition, I read *surah al-Kahfi* on Thursday evening. Not all verses are read; at least I read ten verses of the *surah* (Jombang, 10th March 2018).

Bu Ali, a 45-year-old religious instructor (*penyuluh*) civil servant and a member of Aisyiyah in Bantul with a master's degree as her educational background, told me about her daily routine in reading the Qur'an:

> *Alhamdulillah* (Thank God), I routinely (read the Qur'an) even though only one *ruku'* (some verses with one theme) each time. When I am in the mood, I can read more, but when I feel tired, I only read a little. Every morning, I read *surah Yāsīn, surah al-Wāqi'ah, surah ar-Raḥman* and *surah al-Mulk*. I read all the *surahs* routinely after *tahajud* prayer from 2:00 to 4:00. I think it (the beginning of the habit of reading particular *surahs*) was around the 2000s, precisely in 2009. At first, I read the four *surahs* because I had to look after my mother-in-law, who was sick at that time. She often woke up at 12:00 or 1:00 a.m. Sometimes I could not sleep after that, so I prayed *tahajud* and read the four *surahs.* It has become my habit until now […] I read surah ar-Raḥman because there is a verse "Which, then, of your Lord's blessings, do you both deny?". Therefore, I read this *surah* in order for me to be a grateful person. For (reading) *surah Yāsīn* and *al-Wāqi'ah*, once, I heard during a *pengajian* that if we routinely read *surah Yāsīn* and *al-Wāqi'ah*, the fortune will be on our side. However, my first intention was to make use of the time I had when my mother-in-law was sick. As for surah al-Mulk, I read a hadith that everyone who reads this *surah*, his grave will be bright later […] in addition to reading it at home, I also read the Qur'an together with the Aisyiyah community during *pengajian* al-Qur'an (the Qur'an recitation and study event) or with my colleagues at my office once a week. I also *read* the Qur'an with my children and other children from the neighbourhood. Usually, they come to my house after *maghrib* prayer (Bantul, 13th May 2018).

Another Aisyiyah sympathizer from Bantul Bu Fauzia, a 51-year-old entrepreneur with a bachelor's degree, also mentions her habit of reading the Qur'an:

> I used to wake up around 3:30 a.m., pray *tahajud*, and then go to a mosque praying in congregation. Having been back home, I usually read *surah al-Wāqi'ah* and continue reading *al ma'tsūrāt*[39]. I am going to tell you the story about why I read *surah al-Wāqi'ah*. One day, Pak Yusuf Mansur (one of the famous *ustazs* in Indonesia) walked, and suddenly he met someone whose car had a flat tire. After meeting someone who could patch his tire and the tire had been patched, he (the one repairing the tire) was asked, what was your last education? He said, bachelor. Why did you just fix the tire? *Ustaz* Yusuf said: read *surah al-Wāqi'ah*. He then read that *surah* regularly and eventually became successful. I also want to be like that. […] In my free time, I read the Qur'an, (reading) *istighfar* (seeking forgiveness of God),

[39] *al ma'tsūrāt* is a *zikir* collection book taken from some Qur'anic verses and hadith compiled by Hasan al-Banna, the founder of the Egyptian Muslim brotherhood. *Al ma'tsūrāt* is usually read twice a day i.e., in the morning after dawn *(subuh)* prayer and in the late afternoon after *asar* prayer

> and *salawat*. Before I sleep, I read *surah al-Mulk*. An *ustazah* from the University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta told me that reading this *surah* could help us in our grave later […] I do not have any target in reading the Qur'an. If I have free time, I prefer reading *surah ar-Raḥmān* or *surah Yāsīn*. Whenever some guests come to my shop, I close the Qur'an and continue the recitation later (Bantul, 24th April 2018).

To my question if she also recites the Qur'an together with other people, she replied:

> I only join the communal recitation of the Qur'an at the Nur Ahmad Mosque with the community of *Ummahatul Mukminin*, at the Sabilal Muhtadin *musalla* with the community of *Ummul Mukminat* and in my neighbourhood. Sometimes, I do it (the Qur'an recitation) together with those communities outside the mosque and *musalla* if someone wants to marry off her child or after someone's death etc.

The narratives above explain various habitus on the individual Qur'an recitation and somewhat diverging reasons for reading specific verses. All members or sympathizers of Aisyiyah I spoke with had a habit of reciting the Qur'an regularly. The habit, however, was different from one to another. Regarding how many verses they recite, for instance, a few members had a particular target, such as Bu Dwi, who read for a minimum of one *juz* and Bu Ali, who attempted to read at least one *ruku'* every day. Meanwhile, other members such as Bu Ina and Bu Fauzia viewed that reciting the Qur'an every day was important regardless of how many verses they read.

The best time to read the Qur'an individually, according to most of the Aisyiyah members and sympathizers in both Jombang and Bantul regencies was after the five obligatory prayers as told by Bu Dwi, Bu Ina and Bu Fauzia. Some members preferred to read the Qur'an after *tahajud* or *duha* prayers. The members said that they can concentrate better while reciting the Qur'an after *tahajud* prayer as everyone else is asleep during this time. Meanwhile, reading the Qur'an after *duha* prayer might calm their heart and mind as it was time to rest for a moment in the middle of busy work. In addition to reading the Qur'an in these times, the Aisyiyah communities also liked to read the Qur'an before starting their work or during their leisure time, such as Bu Ali.

Apart from the habit of reciting the Qur'an individually, many of the Aisyiyah members and sympathizers joined communal recitation of the Qur'an in various events. The communal recitation was conducted at a neighbourhood's mosque, *musalla*, or in one of the Aisyiyah members' houses. It was done during a *pengajian* or various events organized by the Asiyiyah executives, the Aisyiyah communities, and Muslims from other religious organizations. Bu Dwi, for instance, attended the communal recitation of the Qur'an held by the non-Aisyiyah community surrounding her house. Her aim was to receive rewards from God, as stated in a hadith she read.[40] Besides, Bu Dwi wanted to make a friendship and foster

[40] The hadith mentioned by Bu Dwi can be found in some canonical books. For example, in the book of Imam Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj, he narrated the hadith from Abu Hurairah that the Prophet said: 'No people gather in one of the houses of Allah, reciting the Book of Allah and studying it together, but tranquillity will descend upon them, mercy will overshadow them, the angels will surround them, and Allah will mention them to those who are with

bonding with other Muslim women, especially in the compound of the house where she lived. Like Bu Dwi, Bu Fauzia followed the communal recitation of the Qur'an in her neighbourhood or during life cycle rituals held by the Aisyiyah members or other Muslim communities in her village. A few members preferred to perform the recitation alone and chose not to participate in communal Qur'an recitation held by the non-Aisyiyah community. Bu Ina, one of the Aisyiyah members in Jombang, for instance, felt uneasy about joining the communal recitation of the Qur'an held by the communities of other religious organizations.[41] As she mentioned in her story, she was the only Muhammadiyah (Aisyiyah) member in her neighbourhood. The other people in the compound of her house were the Nahdlatul Ulama (Muslimat NU) followers.

For most Aisyiyah members in Jombang, all verses of the Qur'an are the words of God. Each verse or *surah* in the Qur'an represents its specificity and provides different knowledge. For this reason, they tend to read all verses in the given order from the first *surah* to the last *surah* instead of choosing the particular one. Bu Siti, a member of Aisyiyah in her seventies, said: "I do not look for any specific *surah* or *juz*. I open the bookmarked page and start reading from the page I left" (Jombang, 10th March 2018). Some members, however, chose particular *surah*s to be read if the practice of reading those specific *surahs* is justified by an accepted hadith.[42] For example, Bu Ina read *surah al-Kahfi* every Thursday evening or Friday and recited the beginning and the end of *surah al-Baqarah* every morning. In her opinion, the argument about reading *surah al-Kahfi* and some parts of *surah al-Baqarah* can be categorized as accepted hadith, whereas the virtue of reciting other *surahs* is mostly not based on accepted hadith.

Other members in Jombang like Bu Nabila, a 48-year-old shop owner and housewife, Bu Iis, A 57-year-old entrepreneur and Bu Nunuk, a 54-year-old merchant and a member of Aisyiyah in Jombang read the Qur'an in the given order every day except on Thursday. All three had gained their education up to the level of senior high school. Bu Nunuk told me:

> Usually, I recite the Qur'an in the given order every day. Nevertheless, on Thursdays, I recite *surah al-Kahfi*. It is a must because one of the advantages of reciting the *surah* is that our hearts will be protected for the next two Fridays. So, all of us here (Aisyiyah members in her neighbourhood) recite it routinely. Moreover, if we memorize ten verses of this *surah*, we will be exempted from torture (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

Him. Whoever is slowed down by his deeds, his lineage will not help him to get ahead (Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, 2007b, p. 75).

[41] Most of the followers of religious organization in Indonesia such as Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, Persis and others tend to participate in *pengajian,* or other religious rituals held by their organization. The reason of this preference is because the religious notions and practices performed by the member of one organization is often different from the religious notions and practices performed by members of other organizations

[42] Hadith means the words, deeds, or silent approvals of the Prophet Muhammad. The hadith can be classified into two groups depending on the acceptance or rejection, namely the accepted hadith (*maqbūl*) and the rejected hadith (*mardūd*).

For the sympathizer of Aisyiyah in Jombang like Bu Dwi, reading particular verses or *surah*s was common. According to her, those *surah*s were part of the Qur'an, and everyone could choose which *surah* she wanted to read (Jombang, 25th February 2018)

Unlike the Aisyiyah members in Jombang, many of the Aisyiyah members in Bantul chose particular verses or *surahs* to be read in addition to reading the Qur'anic verses in the given order. The narrative of Bu Ali above is an example of this habit. Bu Ali chose to read *surah Yāsīn, surah al-Wāqi'ah, surah ar-Raḥmān* and *surah al-Mulk* for several reasons. She said if she read surah Yāsīn and surah al-Wāqi'ah, everything will become easier in her life. She found spiritual meaning through reading surah ar-Raḥmān and reading *surah al-Mulk* could light the grave of its reader (Bantul, 13th May 2018). Other members in Bantul, like Bu Iyam, a 63-year-old retired civil servant with senior high school educational background, said that she read *surah Yāsīn* with the purpose of sending prayer for her deceased parents. In addition, she read particular verses of *surah al-Baqarah*, *surah al-Kahfi*, *surah al-Mulk* and *surah ar-Raḥmān* to acquire mental peace (Bantul, 24th April 2018). Bu Sari, a 66-year-old retired civil servant with senior high school educational background, was also among the members of Aisyiyah in Bantul who chose some verses or *surah*s to be read in addition to complete reading the Qur'an. She recited *surah al-Mulk, surah Yāsīn* and some verses of *surah al-Baqarah*. When I asked her about the intention of reading those *surah*s. She mentioned:

> I read all *surahs* of the Qur'an, but what I like the most is *surah Tabārak, surah Yāsīn*, and some verses of *surah al-Baqarah* […] *Tabārak* is a forgiving surah, so I hope that my sin will be forgiven. In al-Baqarah, there is a throne verse (*ayat kursi*) in the middle of this *surah* that keeps us away from distress. Besides, it also contains a request for forgiveness at the end of the *surah* (Bantul, 9th May 2018).

As well as many of the Aisyiyah members in Bantul, the sympathizers of this organization also read particular verses or *surahs* regularly. The story of Bu Fauzia shows that she read *surah al-Wāqi'ah* and *surah al-Mulk* every day. She hoped that she could be a successful person if she read *surah al-Wāqi'ah* along with her great effort in working. She read *surah al-Mulk* so that God will make it easier on her in the grave (Bantul, 24th April 2018). Other sympathizers in Bantul, Bu Tuti, a 65-year-old merchant and housewife with junior high school educational background, read *surah al-Ikhlāṣ* because based on her knowledge, whoever reads this *surah* three times, he/she will get the reward of reading all verses of the Qur'an. Besides, for her, this *surah* was easy to read (Bantul, 9th May 2018). Meanwhile, Bu Syarofa, a 66-year-old housewife and a sympathizer of Aisyiyah in Bantul read *surah ar-Raḥmān, surah al-Mulk* and *surah Yāsīn* because she found it easier as these *surah*s were often read together by the Ummul Mukminat community (Bantul, 30th April 2018).

5.2.2 Motivations

5.2.2.1 Individual Recitation

The Aisyiyah members or sympathizers in Jombang and Bantul have similar reasons to read the Qur'an. In general, the members I interviewed mentioned three important motivations: understanding the words of God, achieving rewards from God and seeking His blessing, and calming the soul.

Understanding the words of God

Many members mentioned the importance of understanding the words of God as one of their motivations in reading the Qur'an. As explained in chapter Four, Muhammadiyah is an Islamic organization that bases its movement on the Qur'an and hadith. Apart from this, one of the Muhammadiyah mottos is 'return to the Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions'.[43] Therefore, the Aisyiyah members are encouraged to recite, learn, and understand this scripture.

Many members told me, as Muslims, they should recite the Qur'an. They believed that one of the objectives of the Qur'an revelation is for Muslims to understand its contents. For this reason, rather than just reciting the Arabic text of the Qur'an, Muslims have the responsibility to realize its meaning and reflect on what they read. This duty is mentioned in verse 29 of *surah Ṣād*: "This is a blessed Scripture which We sent down to you [Muhammad], for people to think about its messages, and for those with understanding to take heed". In their view, through the reflection upon the Qur'an and its meaning, they are able to know what God says in this book. Then, they can implement the teachings mentioned in the Qur'an in their daily life. In addition, once they understand the meaning of the Qur'an, they can use it as their life guidance. Among the members who mentioned this reason was bu Nunuk. When I asked bu Nunuk, a 54-year-old merchant and a member of Aisyiyah in Jombang with senior high school educational background, about her biggest motivation to recite the Qur'an, she explained:

> As a servant of Allah (*hamba Allah*), we are demanded to recite the Qur'an. The purpose is to understand what is inside the Qur'an and implement it in our daily life. I mean, we should recognize the content of the Qur'an, then perform our deeds in accordance with the teachings stated in this holy book (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

According to Muslim believers, the Qur'an was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad in Arabic language. It was directed to Arabic speakers for the first time. As a non-Arabic speaker, the members of Aisyiyah found difficulties in understanding the meaning of the Qur'anic verses. Hence, they attempted to make some efforts and spent much time on it. To understand the meaning of the Qur'an, Bu Prapti, a member of Aisyiyah in her late fifties

[43] *Ar-rujū' ilā al-Qur'ān wa as-sunnah*, in Indonesian meaning *kembali kepada al-Qur'an dan sunnah.*

from Bantul, used to join the Qur'an recitation *(tadarus)* activity with the Aisyiyah community at a mosque near her house. Bu Prapti was a vegetable seller in a traditional market in Bantul. She used to go to the market early in the morning and come back to her house in the afternoon. After having a rest for a bit, she finished her housework so that she could attend the *tadarus* program. In addition to joining *tadarus*, she read the Qur'an by herself using the translation version of the Qur'an. She said: "I want to know the meaning of the Qur'anic verses, what God says in it. So that I can implement what He asks. However, I do not understand Arabic, so I always read the Qur'an with its translation" (Bantul, 8th May 2018).

The statements of Bu Nunuk and Bu Prapti above explain how important it is to read and understand the words of God as written in the Qur'an for the Aisyiyah communities. Both Bu Nunuk and Bu Prapti had been members of Aisyiyah for a long time. They recited the Qur'an and attempted to understand the meaning of its verses. Bu Nunuk and Bu Prapti genuinely believed that understanding the meaning of the Qur'an would guide their life, although it was difficult for non-Arabic to grasp all the meaning of the verses.

Achieving rewards from God and seeking God's blessing

Apart from understanding the meaning of the Qur'anic verses, many members of the Aisyiyah indicated that they recite the Qur'an in order to get some rewards (Ar.*, śawāb)* and blessings. Among the rewards mentioned by the Aisyiyah members were that reciting the Qur'an will be proof for them on the Day of Judgment and will help them to be at ease when dying. Bu Siti told me that she is old enough now. Therefore, through the recitation of the Qur'an, she hopes when she dies, God will make it easy for her, and the verses she reads can be the proof for her later in the hereafter (Jombang, 10th March 2018).

Being given multiple rewards is also the benefit of the Qur'an recitation, which motivates the members of Aisyiyah in reading the Qur'an. Bu Tuti, one of my interviewees explained to me:

> Do you know? The reward of reading the Qur'an is incredible. I was taught by an *ustazah* from Aisyiyah that for each letter we read from the Qur'anic verses; the reward will be multiplied by ten. Thus, I try to read the Qur'an as often as possible even though I am not fluent in reading it (Bantul, 9th May 2018).

The statement of Bu Tuti (Bantul, 9th May 2018) that the reward for those who recite the Qur'an will be multiplied by ten is indicated by a hadith narrated by at-Tirmiżī from Abdullah ibn Mas'ūd that the Prophet said: '[Whoever recites a letter] from Allah's book, then he receives the reward for it, and the reward of ten the like of it. I do not say that *Alif Lām Mīm* is a letter, but Alif is a letter, *Lām* is a letter, and *Mīm* is a letter' (At- Tirmiżī, 2007, pp. 242–243). This hadith explains that everyone who reads the Qur'an will get rewards multiplied by ten for each letter. According to al-Mubārakfūriy (2008) in his commentary on the book of at-Tirmiżī *Jāmi' al-Tirmidhi*, the rewards given to the Qur'an reciter will be calculated based on how many Arabic letters (*hijāiyyah*) in the Qur'an he/she reads. The Prophet gave

an example when a Muslim reads *Alif Lām Mīm* verse, he/she will get the reward of reading three letters, *Alif, Lām* and *Mīm* (pp. 226–227).

In addition to receiving some rewards promised by God, blessing (Ar., *barakah,* Ind., *berkah*)[44] is another thing expected by the members or sympathizers of Aisyah when they read the Qur'an. Bu Syarofa, for instance, believed that reading the Qur'an is the source of God's blessing. She said that nothing is better than getting a blessing from God as the reward of reciting the Qur'an, so she would keep reading it (Bantul, 30th April 2018).

Those who receive *berkah* feel that their life is easier and happier. Bu Ina, a member of Aisyiyah in Jombang, shared her feeling after regularly reading the Qur'an: "I live a simple life, not rich, but I have no problem. I feel that reciting the Qur'an makes me get close to God and receiving His blessing. It makes my life easier, and my children get along well" (Jombang, 10th March 2018). Besides Bu Ina, Bu Nabila recounted her experience, how the Qur'an brought blessings in her life. She said "It is getting easier for me to earn money. Believe it or not, after regularly reciting the Qur'an, my life is getting better. Many people come to my shop buying some goods. This is a blessing" (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

Calming the soul

The recitation of the Qur'an among the Aisyiyah communities was also motivated by an objective to bring serenity into their life. Various members, I spoke to mentioned this purpose. When I visited the house of Bu Siti, one of the oldest Aisyiyah members in Jombang, she was sitting alone in the living room of her house and had just finished reading the Qur'an. She showed me her *mushaf,* which was already outdated and torn. I asked Bu Siti about her motivations to read the Qur'an. She answered me that she read the Qur'an for calmness. "I live alone. My husband passed away a long time ago, and my children live outside of Jombang. Reading the Qur'an gives me peace and serenity" (Jombang, 10th March 2018). Another member of Aisyiyah in Jombang, Bu Nabila, told me:

> Before I join Aisyiyah *pengajian*, I haven't known the content of the Qur'an. After joining, I just realized that the Qur'an must be read and implemented in daily life so that we will feel calm and at peace. It's different when we don't read Qur'an and we don't learn it frequently (Jombang, 17th August 2018)

Like the members of Aisyiyah in Jombang, some Aisyiyah members and sympathizers in Bantul read the Qur'an to feel calm. Bu Nisa, a housewife in her mid to late sixties and a member of Aisyiyah from Bantul, told me that reciting the Qur'an makes her heart calm and restful (Bantul, 30th April 2018). Apart from Bu Nisa, Bu Iyam said that she read the Qur'an to gain mental peace for herself, for her family and her descendants (Bantul, 24th April 2018). The purpose of reading the Qur'an to calm the soul was also mentioned by Bu Tuti. Reading

[44] The word '*berkah*' originated from the Arabic word *barakah*, which means growth and increase (Ibn Manẓūr, 1414, p. 395). In the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *barakah* is defined as 'beneficent force of divine origin, which causes superabundance in the physical sphere and prosperity and happiness in the psychic order' (Olin, G.S., 2019).

the Qur'an gave her a feeling of serenity, especially when she found difficulties in her life. She shared the following story with me while shedding tears:

> I used to be sick for a long time. It was before 2000. Around 1996-1997. Two years after marriage, I had a child. When my child was one year old, my husband passed away. For thirteen years, I lived my own life taking care of my child. Then I got married again. Because of some problems, the marriage lasted for four years. After that I was sick and often felt anxious. I had trouble sleeping at night. It was hard for me to fall asleep. I often woke up several times throughout the night. This trouble seriously affected my health, not only physical but also mental. I was told to read the Qur'an by an *ustazah*. After reading the Qur'an regularly, I felt my body was light and calm. I really could sleep soundly (Bantul, 9th May 2018)

Some researchers in the field of health find that the recitation of the Qur'an can decrease anxiety and provide calmness. Research conducted by Eman Ghanem Nayef and Muhammad Nubli Abdul Wahab, for example, shows that the Qur'an recitation has an effect on the human heart in producing hormones that cause relaxation (Nayef & Wahab, 2018). Other studies also indicate that the recitation of the Qur'an has an influence on mental health (Alhouseini et al., 2014; Darabinia, M., Gorji & Afzali, 2017).

A hadith narrated by Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj also mentions the benefit of tranquillity when the Qur'an is recited. It was narrated that one of the Prophet's companions named Al-Barra' stated: "A man was reciting *surah al-Kahfi*, and he had a horse with him that was tied with two ropes. A cloud overshadowed it and started spinning and coming closer, and his horse was startled by it. The next morning, he came to the Prophet and told him about that. He said: "That was tranquillity (*sakīnah*) that came down because of the Qur'an" (Muslim Ibn al- Hajjāj, 2007a, p. 315).

5.2.2.2 Communal Recitation

As I described earlier in this chapter, apart from individual recitation of the Qur'an, the Aisyiyah communities recite the Qur'an together. There are at least three important reasons that motivate the Aisyiyah communities to read the Qur'an in a group. They are reading the Qur'an fluently, companionship, and as a devotional act and intercession (Ar., *syafā'ah,* Ind., *syafaat*).

Reading the Qur'an fluently

There are some rules that should be followed when someone recites the Qur'an. Considering these rules can help people recite the Qur'an fluently. Scholars establish a system guideline regulating how to pronounce the language of the Qur'an correctly. They base this guideline on general knowledge included in the Qur'an and how the Qur'an recitation was practised by the Prophet and his companions. This system guideline is called the science of *tajwid* (Anne K. Rasmussen, 2005, p. 68)**.**

The Aisyiyah communities believe that learning the rules of *tajwid* is essential to be more fluent in reading the Qur'an. Some of the communities learn the *tajwid* rules and the recitation of the Qur'an separately. Some of them are motivated to join the collective recitation of the Qur'an in order to be able to read the Qur'an fluently and to learn *tajwid* rules at the same time. In the Aisyiyah community at the Arroudhoh mosque Jombang, for example, while reciting the Qur'an in a group, an *ustazah* corrected the recitation and explained some tajwid rules. With this correction and explanation, they could recite the Qur'an easily.[45] The Aisyiyah community in Bantul is also motivated to join the Qur'an recitation in a group in order to become fluent in reading the Qur'an based on *tajwid* rules. However, the *tajwid* rules were not explained explicitly. The Aisyiyah community in Kasihan Bantul only imitated the way the *ustazah* read the Qur'an. Bu Syarofa shared her experience:

> I am a Muslim, but I am old now. I can't memorize and read the Qur'an well. When I read the Qur'an, I still "*grudal grudul*" (find difficulties). I started from zero, and I did not know neither Arabic letters nor *tajwid* science […] Many old people still find difficulties in reading the Qur'an [...] But, thank God, when they read together here (in the Qur'an recitation and study event), they can "*niteni*" (watch) the text carefully and read the Qur'an more fluently based on *tajwid* rules since the *ustazah* recites it first and they repeat after her (Bantul, 30 April 2018).

Companionship

Another reason that motivates the Aisyiyah community in joining the communal recitation of the Qur'an is companionship. A narrative from Bu Dwi, a sympathizer of Aisyiyah in Jombang in the previous section, shows this fact. She attended the Qur'an recitation events in her neighbourhood and other places to make a friendship (Jombang, 25th February 2018). Bu Tugirah, one of the Aisyiyah members and retired civil servant in her sixties from Bantul, told me that she prefers to perform the Qur'an recitation alone. However, she likes to make friends, so she joins the Qur'an recitation held by the Ummul Mukminat community in the Kasihan sub-district. She said:

> Actually, I prefer to read the Qur'an by myself at home. If I read it together, I cannot concentrate because sometimes, some people talk or do other activities while reading the Qur'an. If I read the Qur'an at home, I can set my own time. But that does not mean I do not like gatherings [...] I like it, so I join the recitation at the *musalla* of Sabilal Muhtadin with the Aisyiyah community and at my compound with my neighbours (Bantul, 28th May 2018).

[45] The science of *tajwid* consists of various rules. It includes instructions on the articulation of letters, and the duration of vowel sounds. Besides, it contains the directions about the characteristic of letters with regard to their heaviness or lightness. For instance, letter *rā'* is pronounced heavy or light depends on its vowel movements *(ḥarākāt)* and the vowel of the previous letter. Another rule is related to changes based on adjacent consonant. For instance, regarding the letter noon *sākin* (noon with a *sukun* sign on it: نْ) and *tanween* (ً ٍ ٌ). If the noun *sākin* or *tanween* followed by any of throat letters such as خ, the noon *sākin* or *tanween* should be pronounced clearly. The Aisyiyah community at Arroudhoh mosque in Jombang learn the science of *tajwid* and know some terms related to it

Devotional act and intercession

Instead of offerings, many Muslims perform devotional acts and make them as intercessions to obtain favours from God. This act is known as *tawassul,* which means the use of a mediator or intercessor (Ar., *wasīlah,* Ind., *wasilah*). *Tawassul* is the action of seeking several ways to draw close to God. In general, there are two types of *tawassul*. The first *tawassul* is regarded by most scholars as the correct *tawassul*. There are various forms of this *tawassul*, for example, through righteous deeds. Here, a Muslim can ask God by virtue of the deeds he has done, such as reciting the Qur'an, giving *sedekah*, fasting and others. A hadith narrated by al-Bukhārī gives an example about this type of *tawassul*.[46] The hadith describes the way three men escape from a cave through using devotional acts they performed before as intercessor to make their *doa* is accepted by God. When these men entered a cave, a big rock rolled down the mountain and closed the mouth of the cave. They said to each other that nothing could save them from the rock but to invoke God through the righteous deeds they had done before. Each of them started reading *doa* by mentioning the best action he had done. At the end, the rock shifted completely, and they could walk out the cave. Another type of *tawassul* is considered by many scholars as a forbidden. For instance, trying to draw closer to God by doing something against Islamic principles such as sacrificing animal in the name of ancestors and doing non-Islamic rituals in the graves of the ancestors (al-Aṡarī, n.d.).

The Aisyiyah community in Kasihan Bantul used to perform the communal recitation of the Qur'an on various occasions such as life cycle events. According to Bu Munjiyah, the recitation of the Qur'an is among acts of beneficence (*al-a'māl aṣ-ṣāliḥah*) which can be an intercession that secure God's pleasure. Thus, the *doa* read by the communities and the wish of the reciter or the host is acceptable by God (Bantul, 9th May 2018). Most of the Ummul Mukminat and Ummahatul Mukminin members speak about this intention while performing the communal recitation of the Qur'an.

[46] Narrated by Ibn 'Umar that the Prophet said: Once, three persons (from the previous nations) were travelling, and suddenly it started raining and they took shelter in a cave. The entrance of the cave got closed (suddenly by the falling of a huge rock) while they were inside. They said to each other, '0 you! Nothing can save you except the truth, so each of you should ask Allah's help by referring to such a deed as he thinks he did sincerely (i.e just for gaining Allah's Pleasure) […] 0 Allah! If You consider that I did that for fear of You then please remove the rock. So, Allah released them (removed the rock) and they came out (of the cave)." (Bk 55, chapter 53, hadith number 3465)

5.3 The Recitation of the Qur'an Among the Muslimat NU Communities in Jombang and Bantul

5.3.1 Habitus

The habitus of the Qur'an recitation among the Muslimat NU members in Jombang and Bantul are exemplified by the following narratives:

The first narrative comes from Bu Sumi, a housewife and member of the Muslimat NU organization from Jombang. Bu Sumi was in her seventies with junior high school educational background.

> I'm old now, what am I looking for? Reciting the Qur'an is my only *wirid* (*zikir*) every day [...] I cannot live without reciting the Qur'an every day. Sometimes, I even unintentionally leave the Qur'an on this chair or table (in her living room) […] I read the Qur'an in the given order. However, I prefer to recite particular *surahs* (of the Qur'an) with the aim to ask for good health. The *surahs* I read are *al-Mulk, Yāsīn* and throne verses […] Usually, I read the throne verses forty-one times every day. My *kyai* said that if we do it (reading the throne verses forty-one times) every day, those who have bad intentions to our family will get revenge from Allah. Therefore, after I heard the *kyai* saying so, I started reciting (the throne verses forty-one times) every day [...]. I read those particular *surah*s with the aims to gain good health and happiness in the world and Hereafter. There is no other purpose […] Sometimes, I join a *khatmul Qur'an* event (see section 6.3.2.2 *khatmul* Qur'an) with the Muslimat community nearby (Jombang 17th August 2018).

Another story comes from Bu Haulah, a member of Muslimat NU from Jombang. She was in her sixties at the time of interview. Bu Haulah graduated from one of the universities in Jombang. Besides, she received Islamic teaching from one of the famous *pesantren* in this city. Bu Haulah had been a member of Muslimat NU for approximately twenty years. She shared her habitus of reciting the Qur'an:

> Nowadays, there are many online groups of the Qur'an recitation called ODOJ (One day one *juz*).[47] However, I do not join those groups. Instead, I recite the Qur'an

[47] The birth of the ODOJ community can be traced back to early 2004. Bhayu, a student of Jendral Soedirman University in Purwokerto central Java made this program for himself before it was introduced to public through SMS and a blog in 2007. In 2009, a colleague of Bhayu and a student at State University of Semarang (Universitas Negeri Semarang, UNS) namely Pratama Widodo developed this program and created a Facebook account for ODOJ. In 2013, Nurkholifa, a student of Sepuluh Nopember Institute of Technology Surabaya (Institut Teknologi Sepuluh Nopember, ITS) initiated using WhatsApp to report her daily Qur'an recitation to her religious teacher. This method then became popular among her friends at the house of Qur'an (Rumah Qur'an) learning centre in Jakarta and Bandung cities. In 2013, Ricky Adrinaldi, one of the founders of the ODOJ community heard about this news from his sister-in-law, then he initiated to develop the ODOJ program. He launched this program to public and created an official website of the ODOJ community. Besides organizing one day one juz Qur'an recitation group, ODOJ community has several programs and activities both online and offline. For instance, '*Selalu Tilawah al-Qur'an*' (always reading the Qur'an) program abbreviated as ODOJ star. The participants of this program are encouraged to recite the Qur'an and report the recitation at least one verse to maximum one *juz* every day. Other

> alone with the same target that is one day one *juz* […] When I am busy with several activities and cannot finish reciting one *juz* in one day, I feel like I owe a debt that I need to pay […] Usually, I begin (the recitation) in a particular date of the Islamic or Gregorian calendar (and finish the recitation within a month). If I cannot recite one *juz* in one day, that's okay, but I need to finish thirty *juzs* or complete the recitation of all Qur'anic verses in one month […] Since long time ago, I consistently read (*surah*) *Yāsīn* after *subuh* and *maghrib* prayers. Because (*surah*) *Yāsīn* is the heart of the Qur'an. It is stated in a book called *Mukhtār al-Aḥādīth*[48] that *Yāsīn* is the heart of the Qur'an. Whoever reads this *surah*, his/her sins will be forgiven. In the past, someone taught me that whoever reads the Qur'an after *subuh*, he/she will be protected until *maghrib*, and whoever reads the Qur'an after *maghrib*, he/she will be protected until the next morning. (Besides *surah Yāsīn*), another *surah* that I read by myself at home is (*surah*) *al-Wāqi'ah*. I had a story with (*surah) al-Wāqi'ah*. When I was in the first grade of senior high school, I got advice from my *kyai* (to read the *surah*). My family was poor, and there was no electricity in our house. My father passed away, and my mother was a widow. I didn't know who motivated me, but one day I performed fasting for three days and recited (*surah*) *al-Wāqi'ah* twenty-five times after *salat*. I even asked for leave from my school for three days. Even on the last day, I read it (*surah al-Wāqi'ah*) until 12:00 p.m. I had a hard time back then, but now I am settled, and I feel like I have everything […] I join the communal Qur'an recitation with other Muslimat NU members (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

Some members from Bantul have different habitus of reciting the Qur'an. One of them is Bu Ulya. She was a 44-year-old shopkeeper. She was a bachelor graduate from one of the universities in Yogyakarta. Besides having a university educational background, Bu Ulya learned Islamic knowledge and memorized the Qur'an at some *pesantren*s.

> Every day, from 05:30 to 06:30 a.m., I go to an Islamic boarding school for the Qur'an memorization (*pondok pesantren tahfidz*) nearby. There, I listen and supervise the students of the *pesantren* [...] When I read and repeat the Qur'an memorization myself, I feel good. However, teaching is also my effort to maintain the Qur'an memorization. If I do not teach and only recite the Qur'an by myself, I will not know if I make a mistake. Listening to the students' recitation is like "*ngaji*

programs are '*one day one lembar*' (one day one page) abbreviated as ODOL kids which is a special program for children, and '*one day half juz*' program known as ODALF. The ODOL Kids and ODALF programs are intended for children and beginner, so that they are accustomed to reading the Qur'an and remain consistent. Among the offline activities held by this community are '*ngaji on the street*' known as NGAOS in which some members of the ODOJ community gather on the street and recite the Qur'an together, and '*kajian al-Qur'an ala ustaz'* known as KALQULUS in which the participants are taught some Islamic teaching by an *ustaz*. Through the ODOJ community, Muslims who want to perform ODOJ Qur'an recitation form group of thirty people from different educational, social, and religious organization background. Each member is obliged to read the Qur'an one *juz* every day. Thus, in one day every group can finish reading all Qur'an, and in one month each member can complete reading all Qur'anic verses. In 2015, the ODOJ program has attracted 140.000 followers from different social background. See further (Kelana, 2015; Nisa, 2018; Saefullah, 2016; Slama, 2017)

[48] The full name of the book is *Mukhtār al-aḥādīś wa al-ḥikam al-Muḥammadiyyah* written by Ahmad al-Hasyimi. The book is a compilation of 15.800 Prophetic traditions taken from several books of hadith. For instance, Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Sunan at-Tirmiżī, Sunan an-Nasā'ī, Sunan Ibn Mājah, Sunan Abu Dāwūd, al-Muwaṭṭa' Mālik, al-Jāmi' as-Saghīr and al- Jāmi' al-Kabīr written by as-Suyūṭī, al-Targhīb wa al-Tarhīb and others.

> *kuping*" which means we do not recite but listen to the Qur'an recitation while remembering our Qur'an memorization […] In the past, before memorizing the Qur'an, I used to read some particular *surah*s. For example, every day, I read *surah al-Wāqi'ah*. On Sunday evening, I read (*surah*) *ar-Raḥmān*. On Thursday evening, I read (*surah*) *Yāsīn, al-Wāqi'ah, al-Mulk, and ar-Raḥmān* [...] After memorizing all Qur'anic verses, It is difficult for me to spare the time to read these particular *surah*s since I have to maintain every single verse of the Qur'an in my memory […] The particular *surah*s are automatically read when I read particular *juzs*. For instance, when I read *juz* 22, there is *surah Yāsīn* in it […] Actually, it is better to read the particular *surah*s regularly besides reading the Qur'an in its given order (Bantul, 9th July 2018).

Bu Wiwi, a 36-year-old entrepreneur with University and Islamic school (*diniyah*)[49] educational background, described her routine in reciting the Qur'an to me as follows:

> I spare my time to read the Qur'an with my children after *maghrib* prayer until before performing *isya* prayer. Then, I continue reading the Qur'an alone after *subuh* prayer. I join an online group of the Qur'an recitation. The group consists of thirty former members of the female student organization of Nahdlatul Ulama (Ikatan Pelajar Puteri Nahdlatul Ulama, IPPNU). All members are given one week to finish the recitation. It is a one-week *khatmul* Qur'an program. For example, I have to finish reading the first *juz* of the Qur'an this week. The week after, I have to read the second *juz*. The recitation of the new *juz* is started every Friday […] my mother told me that every day I must read (*surah*) *al-Wāqi'ah*. *Surah al-Wāqi'ah* is read after *subuh* prayer. Besides, every Thursday evening, my mother's family performs *kirim doa* ritual to the ancestors by reading *surah Yāsīn* and *tahlil* (Bantul, 3rd July 2018).

The four narratives presented above provide examples regarding the habitus of the Qur'an recitation among the Muslimat NU members in Jombang as well as in Bantul. Most members of Muslimat NU from both cities I interviewed read the Qur'an after daily prayers, in particular after *maghrib* and *subuh* prayers as mentioned in the story of Bu Haulah and Bu Wiwi. Apart from Bu Wiwi and Bu Haulah, many members from Jombang also read the Qur'an at a specific time such as Bu Irna, Bu Lina, and Bu Nafisa. As well as these Muslimat NU members in Jombang, many Muslimat NU members in Bantul, particularly the inhabitants of the Sewon sub-district where I conducted my fieldwork read the Qur'an regularly after *maghrib* and *subuh* prayers. According to Bu Shafa, the Muslimat NU in Bantul has long-organized a Qur'an recitation program, namely '*gemar mengaji*' (fond of reciting the Qur'an). Through this program, the Muslimat NU members, especially within the area of the Bantul regency, are encouraged to recite the Qur'an after *maghrib* prayer. Bu

[49] Islamic school or known as *madrasah diniyah* is part of *pesantren* educational system. Based on a regulation issued by the Minister of Religious Affairs of Indonesia no. 13 1964, *madrasah diniyah* is considered as an educational institution which provides Islamic teachings in more formal way. The students are between the age of seven to eighteen. The aim of the establishment of *madrasah diniyah* is to give additional knowledge on religious issues, in particular for those who attends public schools. *Madrasah diniyah* consists of three levels, they are *diniyah awaliyah, diniyah wustho,* and *diniyah ulya* (Departemen Agama RI, 2000, pp. 7–10).

Shafa told me that in the past, a banner across the road, close to her house, was strung which read '*gemar mengaji*' program (Bantul, 3rd June 2018). In addition to reading the Qur'an after *maghrib* and *subuh* prayers, there were members who read the Qur'an after *tahajjud* prayer such as Bu Lina, a Muslimat NU member from Jombang (Jombang, 9th March 2018) and Bu Atik, a Muslimat NU member from Bantul (Bantul, 8th July 2018). A few members also read the Qur'an after *duha* prayer such as Bu Irna, a member of Muslimat NU from Jombang (Jombang, 25th February 2018).

Many Muslimat NU members in Jombang and Bantul set themselves daily, weekly, or monthly targets for reading the Qur'an. Bu Haulah attempted to read one *juz* of the Qur'anic verses every day. However, when she was busy and could not reach the target, she tried to complete reading all Qur'anic verses (thirty *juz*s) in one month. Bu Wiwi also had the target of reciting the Qur'an. She set a minimum target of reading one *juz* of the Qur'anic verses in a week. Unlike Bu Haulah and Bu Wiwi, other Muslimat NU members read the Qur'an whenever they could, regardless of the number of the verses they read. Bu Sumi, for example, did not mention any daily, weekly, or monthly targets during the interview. For Bu Sumi, reading the Qur'an was her *wirid* or *zikir*. Thus, she performed the recitation whenever she could. As someone who has memorized the Qur'an and *tahfiz* teacher, Bu Ulya also attempted to read the Qur'an by herself and listened to the memorization of the Qur'an from her students as much as possible without setting any target.

Regarding the recitation of the Qur'an in a group, almost all Muslimat NU members in Jombang I interviewed participated in an offline communal Qur'an recitation Bu Sumi or Bu Haulah joined the communal recitation of the Qur'an with other Muslimat NU members in their villages. Some of them took part in an online Qur'an recitation program like Bu Tika (Jombang, 17th August 2018) who joined one day one *juz* program, as well as Bu Afifa (Jombang, 18th August 2018) and Bu Nafisa (Jombang, 18th August 2018) who followed one-week *khatmul Qur'an* program. The members of these online Qur'an recitation groups mostly interact one another virtually. Usually, they have daily or weekly targets to recite all Qur'anic verses. Each member was obliged to recite one *juz* in one day or one *juz* in a week or month. Some members from Bantul also joined this online Qur'an recitation group. Bu Wiwi, for instance, as narrated above, joined an online Qur'an recitation group. Bu Wiwi and her colleagues, alumnae of the IPPNU, formed a group of thirty members, namely a one-week *khatmul Qur'an* program. The members of the group collectively read all Qur'anic verses every week. Besides Bu Wiwi, Bu Umu (Bantul, 3rd July 2018) and Bu Sofi (Bantul, 15th May 2018) also joined other online Qur'an recitation groups.

The members of Muslimat NU in Jombang and Bantul used to read particular *surah* or verse. The above story of Bu Sumi, a Muslimat NU member from Jombang, shows this phenomenon. She recited *surah al-Mulk*, *surah Yāsīn* and throne verses every day. The aim of reading *surah al-Mulk* and *surah Yāsīn* is to acquire good health, as she was old and often feeling unwell. For the *ayat kursi*, she even read the verses up to forty-one times in a day. In the past, a *kyai* told her about this practice with the aim to avoid bad things happening to her family. Another Muslimat NU member from Jombang, Bu Haulah, had been reading *surah Yāsīn* regularly since she was in junior high school. She believed that *surah Yāsīn* was the heart of the Qur'an. In addition to *surah Yāsīn*, she read *surah al-Wāqi'ah*. Bu Haulah read

this *surah* twenty-five times in a day when she was in junior high school in order to have a good life. *Surah Yāsīn* and *al-Wāqi'ah* were also read by almost all Muslimat NU members I interviewed in Jombang. For example, the *surahs* were read regularly by Bu Lilis (Jombang, 9th March 2018), Bu Imah (Jombang, 25th February 2018), Bu Hana (Jombang, 17th August 2018), and Bu Nafisa (Jombang, 18th August 2018).

Like the Muslimat NU members in Jombang, many of the Muslimat NU members in Bantul have a habitus of reading particular *surah* or verses. Bu Wiwi, for example, read *surah al-Wāqi'ah* every day as her mother told her to do so. Moreover, she recited *surah Yāsīn* every Thursday evening during a *kirim doa* occasion. Other members such as Bu Atik, Bu Ira, Bu Fina, Bu Umu, Bu Nur, and Bu Shafa also read *surah Yāsīn* regularly. A few members of Muslimat NU in Bantul did not regularly recite particular *surah*. Bu Ulya was one of these members. She had the habitus of reading particular *surah*s in the past. However, she found it difficult to continue the practice after becoming a *ḥāfiẓah* (female memorizer of the Qur'an) as she had to maintain her memorization by reading and listening to the Qur'anic verses as much as possible every day (Bantul, 9th July 2018).

5.3.2 Motivation

Muslimat NU members have their own motivation for participating in communal or solitary Qur'anic recitation.

5.3.2.1 Individual Recitation

Acts of piety

For the Muslimat NU members both in Jombang and Bantul, the recitation of the Qur'an is regarded as a devotional act and is believed to be one way to get closer to God and to become a pious Muslim. Most of the Muslimat NU members I interviewed were motivated to read the Qur'an because of these reasons. Bu Haulah told me that her motivation in reading the Qur'an every day was to get closer to God. She said, "when I am reading the Qur'an, I feel close to God, as if I am talking to Him" (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

Another member of Muslimat NU from Bantul, Bu Fina, recited the Qur'an to be a pious Muslim rather than to get rewards. She shared her experience with me during our interview: "in the past when I had a specific goal, I read the Qur'an so that I could get rewards from God, and He would grant my wish. Now, I have changed my intention. I do not read the Qur'an because I want to get something. *Alhamdulillah* (Thank God), there is no such intention anymore. I just read it as a devotional act, and I want to be a pious Muslim" (Bantul, 4th July 2018). Apart from Bu Fina, other members from Bantul, such as Bu Atik and Bu Ira, also read the Qur'an regularly to increase their piety. Bu Atik said, "indeed, as a Muslim, reading and teaching the Qur'an is obligatory. If not us as Muslims, who else wants to do that. In addition, reading the Qur'an can increase our piety" (Bantul, 8th July 2018). Bu Ira also mentioned this motivation saying, "I think it is my obligation as a Muslim to read the

Qur'an. The Qur'an is a holy book and guidance for us. In addition, I want to increase my faith in Allah and my piety" (Bantul, 8th July 2018).

Receiving blessing and getting benefit

The word blessing (*berkah*) is commonly heard within the community of Muslimat NU. Many Muslimat NU members intend to get blessings while performing religious acts. The same is true for reading the Qur'an. Bu Imah, a Muslimat NU member from Jombang, for example, told me about her motivation in reading the Qur'an to get blessing from God "I feel obliged to read the Qur'an every day. The Qur'an is the words of God. If we read the Qur'an sincerely, whether or not people see us, our life will be blessed by Him. Also, we will be happy in this world and later in the hereafter" (Jombang, 25th February 2018).

The intention of reading the Qur'an to seek God's blessing is also mentioned by other Muslimat NU members from Bantul, Bu Sofi and Bu Ulya. Bu Sofi (Bantul, 15th May 2018) told me that she read the Qur'an to gain blessing from God. Another member, Bu Ulya, recited the Qur'an regularly and often helped some *santris* near her house to memorize the Qur'an because she felt happy and blessed. She shared her feeling, her experience and her intention in reading the Qur'an: "I feel happy while reciting the Qur'an or listening to the Qur'an recitation. If someone asks me to join *semaan*[50], I am happy and feel blessed. I do not calculate what I will get (material rewards) by joining *semaan*. When some *santris* come to my house, I even stop all my household work to listen to their memorization. All of this is to ask for God's blessing" (Bantul, 9th July 2018).

Besides seeking God's blessing, many Muslimat NU members devoted their time to reciting the Qur'an in order to gain benefits and rewards. Different kinds of rewards and virtue for the reciter of the Qur'an are mentioned in a number of Prophetic traditions. Some scholars of *hadith* compiled these Prophetic traditions in a particular chapter or book. For instance, Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj put together hadiths about the virtues of reading the Qur'an and *zikir* in a chapter of his book *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* entitled '*Faḍlu al-ijtimā' 'alā tilāwah al-Qur'ān wa 'alā aẓ-żikr'*, Abū Dāwūd compiled the traditions under the chapter '*Bāb fī ṭawāb qirāah al-Qur'ān'*, at-Tirmiżī collected the *hadiths* in a chapter namely '*Bāb mā jā'a fī faḍl qāri' al-Qur'ān',* and Ḥasan Abd al Maḥmūd wrote a book *Ṣaḥīḥ mā Warada Fī Faḍāil Āyāt wa Suwar al- Qur'ān al-Karīm*. In this book, he compiled Qur'anic verses and hadiths regarding the benefit of the Qur'an and the recitation of its verses. Based on the hadiths related to the benefit of the Qur'an recitation, Bu Hana, the Muslimat NU member from

[50] The term *semaan* derived from Arabic language *sami'a yasma'u* means listening. In the *Encyclopaedia of NU* book, *semaan* has several meanings. First, it is an activity of reciting and listening to the Qur'an among the memorizers of the Qur'an. Usually, some people gather in one place. One memorizer or more read the Qur'an from their memory and the participants listen to the recitation while watching the text in the *mushaf*. Another meaning of *semaan* is an activity in which some people gather to recite the Qur'an, listen to the recitation, perform various religious acts from *subuh* prayer until the recitation of all Qur'anic verses is completed. Within the NU community, the tradition of *semaan* cannot be separated from the name of Kyai Haji Chamim Djazuli known as Gus Miek, as the initiator of this activity. He initiated the practice of *semaan* for the first time in 1986 at the Burengan village the regency of Kediri East Java province. This activity has developed to other places in Indonesia including Yogyakarta province (nu.or.id/post/read/40612/semaan)

Jombang, was motivated to recite the Qur'an regularly. She said, "It is stated in a hadith that people who recite the Qur'an will feel pleased and will be at ease in the grave" (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

Gaining tranquillity

It is often claimed that Qur'anic recitation leads to the condition of calming and relaxing (Kamal et al., 2013). It is also argued that the recitation of the Qur'an can be used as a treatment to reduce anxiety (Ghiasi, A., & Keramat, 2018; Hotmaida, 2018; Syafei, A., & Suryadi, 2018; Zhang et al., 2014). However, research conducted by Nawsher et al. (2010) shows that the relaxing effect of the Qur'an recitation will last long if the reciter reads it regularly.

To gain tranquillity or to aid relaxation is another motivation for reading the Qur'an among the Muslimat NU members. Some members from Jombang, such as Bu Irna, Bu Lina, Bu Afifa and Bu Nafis, mentioned this reason. Bu Irna said, "I find serenity while reading the Qur'an regularly" (Jombang, 25th February 2018). Meanwhile, Bu Lina (Jombang, 9th March 2018) and Bu Afifa (Jombang, 18th August 2018) told me that they feel comfortable and calm after reading the Qur'an. On the other hand, if they do not read it, they will feel frustrated and feel like something is wrong. For Bu Nafisa (Jombang, 18th August 2018), in addition to gaining tranquillity, she intended to maintain her physical health because based on her experience, reading the Qur'an made her healthy.

As well as the Muslimat NU members in Jombang, the members of Muslimat NU in Bantul recited the Qur'an regularly because they gained serenity during the recitation. Bu Umu (Bantul, 3rd July 2018), Bu Nur (Bantul, 8th July 2018) and Bu Wiwi (Bantul, 3rd July 2018) gave the same reason in reading the Qur'an. They felt peaceful and calm while reciting the Qur'an regularly. Bu Shafa, a member of Muslimat NU in Bantul, shared her feeling and motivation regarding her habitus of reading the Qur'an.

> If I do not recite the Qur'an, I feel like something is missing. I mean, reading the Qur'an makes us calm. Those who have difficulty in their life and recite the Qur'an can gain tranquillity. And indeed, the tranquillity people feel while reading the Qur'an make them happier. If we do not want to read the Qur'an, our heart will be empty (Bantul, 3rd July 2018).

Reading the Qur'an fluently

For some of the Muslimat NU members both in Jombang and Bantul, reciting the Qur'an regularly is also intended to enhance their fluency in reading the Qur'anic verses. In the opinion of Bu Hana (Jombang, 17th August 2018), a Muslimat member from Jombang, Bu Umu (Bantul, 3rd July 2018) and Bu Nur (Bantul, 8th July 2018), members from Bantul, reciting a few verses of the Qur'an every day enhanced their fluency in the recitation.

Setting a good example for children

Children are influenced by their surroundings. Ulwan (2000, p. 217) states that setting a good example is an effective way to educate children. In this context, a family plays an essential role in shaping their children's behaviour and developing their character (Baumrind, 1991). For some Muslimat NU members both in Jombang and Bantul, reading the Qur'an regularly was intended to set a good example for their children and show them the importance of this habitus. Bu Lilis, a member of Muslimat NU from Jombang, for instance, shared her motivation in reading the Qur'an "I read the Qur'an as one of religious acts while intending to educate my children. Before entering *pesantren,* they (the children) have been taught to read the Qur'an. While doing household works, I try to read some short *surah*s to give example to my children. Thus, reading the Qur'an becomes their habitus now" (Jombang, 9th March 2018).

Besides Bu Lilis, other Muslimat NU members from Bantul, Bu Wiwi and Bu Shafa were also motivated to read the Qur'an to instil the habit of reading the Qur'an to their children. In their opinion, children can learn better when they see an example, particularly from their parents. Bu Wiwi said, "I read the Qur'an every day even for a few verses to instil the habit of reading the Qur'an to my children" (Bantul, 3rd July 2018). Bu Shafa told me about her daily routine in reading the Qur'an and her biggest motivation: "usually, my children and I read the Qur'an twice a day, after *maghrib* and *subuh* prayers. I do this (reciting the Qur'an) regularly with my children to give them examples so that they will be encouraged to read the Qur'an in the future" (Bantul, 3rd July 2018).

Safeguarding house and family from syaitan

According to Muslim's belief, the Qur'an recitation, particularly *surah al-Baqarah*, can protect them and the house where they live from the devil (Ar. *shaiṭān,* Ind. *syaitan*). This belief is based on a hadith narrated by Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj from Abu Hurairah that the Prophet Muhammad said "Do not make your houses into graves. Verily, *syaitan* flees from a house in which *surah* al-Baqarah is recited" (Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, 2007, chapter 29 hadith no. 1824). The hadith indicates that the house in which *surah al-Baqarah* is recited will be protected from *syaitan*.

Some Muslimat NU members in Jombang and Bantul recite the Qur'an in order to safeguard their house and family members from *syaitan*. Bu Irna, a Muslimat NU member from Jombang, read the Qur'an with her children to keep themselves away from *syaitan*. She shared her story with me:

> Before marriage, my parents used to invite me to read the Qur'an with the aim to safeguard our house from *syaitan*, so that we feel comfortable and peaceful living in the house. It becomes my habit until now. I invite my daughter to read the Qur'an to be blessed by God and our home is comfortable because the *syaitan* runs away (Jombang, 25th February 2018).

Another member from Jombang, Bu Hana, told me her experience that when she moved to her new house, she read the Qur'an regularly. One of her motivations in reading the Qur'an was to safeguard her house from *syaitan*.

> We are obliged to recite the Qur'an in the house […] the aim is to safeguard us and our home from *syaitan*. Besides, we will feel more comfortable living in the house. You know, I moved to this house around the 1970s. Previously, people who lived in this house could not stay for a long time. The house owner changed from time to time […] the reason varied. It was said that this house was haunted, so people who lived here were bothered then sold the house. However, nothing has happened since I live here (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

5.3.2.2 Communal recitation

As mentioned in the previous section, many of the Muslimat NU members consider the recitation of the Qur'an as a devotional act and one of the ways of being a pious Muslim. Therefore, they attempt to maintain this practice either individually or communally, offline or online, with the local Muslimat NU community or other Muslim communities. Almost all the Muslimat NU members I spoke joined offline communal recitation with the Muslimat NU communities surrounding their house. In addition to the offline gathering, some of them also took part in an online Qur'an recitation program such as the ODOJ program, one-week *khatmul Qur'an* program and others. The intentions of participating in the offline gathering with the Muslimat NU community or joining the online Qur'an recitation program were for *tabarukan*, to maintain a good relationship with other members, and to remain consistent in reading the Qur'an.

Tabarukan and wasilah

Tabarukan comes from the Arabic word *tabarruk,* which means "seeking blessing through something" (al-Jadī', 1990, p. 30). *Tabarruk* is understood as the practice of seeking God's blessing by being close to something that God has given privilege or touching it. The practice of *tabarruk* by virtue of matters mentioned in the Qur'an and hadiths is allowed by the majority of Muslim scholars. For example, *tabarruk* through performing *zikir*, reciting the Qur'an, as well as understanding, learning, and implementing its teachings. The blessing of the Qur'an is justified by some verses of the Qur'an such as *surah al-An'ām* verses 92 and 155, *surah al-Anbiya'* verse 50, and *surah Ṣād* verse 29. Besides seeking blessing by the virtue of the Qur'an, *tabarruk* can also be done by virtue of the Prophet Muhammad, the virtue of Zam-zam water, some places like Mecca, Madinah, and mosques like al-Aqsa. However, the practice of *tabarruk* with the virtue of something that has not been mentioned in the Qur'an and hadiths is debatable among Muslim scholars. For instance, seeking blessing by virtue of the Prophet Muhammad after his death such as through visiting his tomb, by virtue of his birthday, the time of his ascending to the heavens, and others; by virtue of pious Muslims; by virtue of certain places such as mountain and some traces (al-Jadī', 1990).

Within the NU, including Muslimat NU communities, the practice of *tabarukan* is common and considered as one of the forms of *tawassul.* It is based on the Qur'anic verse *surah al-Māidah* verse 35 "You who believe, be mindful of God, seek ways to come closer to Him and strive for His cause, so that you may prosper". This verse indicates that Muslims are urged to seek all means which might bring them close to God. The practice of *tabarukan* by virtue of the Prophet and pious people after their death, places, things, traces, and others in the view of NU organization is permissible. However, Muslims should be aware that everything such as humans, certain places, traces, or else do not have the power to bring benefit or inflicts harm. Instead, God is the one who gives benefits and causes harm (Kurniawan, 2018a).

Within the Muslimat NU communities, the recitation of the Qur'an is performed in various public gatherings as a *tabarukan* act and *wasilah* to get God's blessing. Thus, everything will run smoothly. Bu Nyai Um, one of the female religious figures in Jombang (see her biography in section 6.4.3), said that the recitation of the Qur'an in any public event is intended for *tabarukan,* so that the event being held runs smoothly as expected (Jombang, 20th February 2018). This intention was also mentioned by Bu Ulya, a Muslimat NU member from Bantul. She said that the Qur'an is performed as a *wasilah* to get God's blessing, whether it is recited entirely or partially (Bantul, 9th July 2018).

Maintaining a good relationship and being consistent

For some Muslimat NU members in Jombang and Bantul, participating in the communal recitation of the Qur'an either offline or online is also intended to maintain a good relationship with other Muslims. Bu Sofi, a Muslimat NU member from Bantul, said that she joined a communal Qur'an recitation because she wanted to keep in touch with her friends and maintained a good relationship with them (Bantul, 15th May 2018).

Apart from maintaining a good relationship, some of the members intend to be consistent in performing religious acts. For example, Bu Tika, a Muslimat NU member and teacher from Jombang, had been joining the ODOJ community for two years when I interviewed her. In the beginning, she was invited by her friend, the chairwoman of Fatayat NU in her village. The ODOJ group consisted of thirty members from different backgrounds. She told me:

> Joining the (ODOJ) group strengthened my motivation in reading the Qur'an. Besides, I also learned to become an honest person (through this participation) because other members have no idea whether I read one *juz* or not […] My first intention is to remain consistent in doing a religious act. Being consistent is difficult to achieve […] Also, I learn to be an honest person (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

Apart from Bu Tika, Bu Wiwi, a member of Muslimat NU from Bantul, also joined an online Qur'an recitation group to be consistent in reading the Qur'an. As described above, Bu Wiwi was a member of a one-week *khatmul Qur'an* group. She mentioned this motivation in our interview: "it is difficult to complete the recitation of the Qur'an if we are not forced to do it

[…] By joining this group, I have to finish reading one *juz* in one week" (Bantul, 3rd June 2018). An article written by Acep Muslim (2017) shows that online Qur'an recitation community such as the ODOJ group is a new way of being religious as it encourages the members to recite the Qur'an consistently one *juz* every day.

5.4 Conclusion

As discussed in chapter One, Graham (2010) includes the practice of Qur'an recitation in the category of ritualized devotional acts. Many Prophetic traditions mention the importance and benefit of this practice. Therefore, it is done by Muslims throughout the world. The Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities in this study recited the Qur'an either individually or communally. However, their habitus in reading the Qur'an varied. Some of them set a particular target regarding how many verses they read every day, while others did not. Some members preferred to read the Qur'an in particular times, while others chose to read the Qur'an anytime. Many members recited particular verses or *surah*s of the Qur'an, while others opted for reading all verses of the Qur'an in the given order. Apart from the habitus, the purpose of reciting the Qur'an differed among both communities in two different places, Jombang and Bantul. Within the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang, reciting the Qur'an was intended to understand the words of God, read the Qur'an fluently, get *ṡawāb* or reward, seek God's blessing and bring serenity. For the Aisyiyah communities in Bantul, in addition to these aims, the recitation of the Qur'an was also practiced as a devotional act and intercession to make their *doa* approved by God, in particular during public gatherings.

Among the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul, reciting the Qur'an was done as an act of piety, as a way to get God's blessing, achieve various benefits, gain tranquillity, read the Qur'an fluently, set a good example for children, and safeguard a house or family from evil. Besides, it was conducted as *tawassul* or intercession with the hope that God would fulfil their wish or the event they held would run smoothly.

PONDOK PESANTREN

" DARUSSALAM "

DUKUHWALUH PURWOKERTO

TALK SHOW LINTAS BENUA

"Urgensi Memahami Al Qur'an Bagi Generasi Kekinian"



H. Imam Labib Hibaurrahman, Lc., M.S.I.
Farah Nuril Izza, Lc., M.A.

Mahasiswi S3 Doktor di Tilburg University
Beasiswa MORA 5000 Doktor Kementerian Agama RI

Tilburg, Belanda

LIVE On Youtube :

Pondok Pesantren Darussalam Purwokerto

Sabtu, 09 Mei 2020

Pukul 21.00 WIB s.d Selesai

@ponpesdarussalam

Pondok Pesantren Darussalam Purwokerto

Chapter 6
The Qur'anic Recitation Practices in the Life Cycle, Calendrical, and Occasional Rituals

6.1 Introduction

The recitation of the Qur'an, as described in the previous chapter is an essential ritualized devotional act practiced among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities. It is performed for various purposes on different occasions such as the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals. In this chapter, I discuss the Qur'anic recitation practices in the aforementioned rituals among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities in Jombang (East Java) and Bantul (Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta). This chapter explores the first sub-question of this study:

- *How Qur'anic recitation practiced during the life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals within the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities?*

In the first part of this chapter, I provide an introduction as well as the fieldnotes I made during my four separate research trips. Section 6.3 gives a background regarding public gatherings among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul. Section (6.4) presents various practices of the Qur'an recitation among the Aisyiyah communities in two different places, Jombang and Bantul. Section 6.5 explains various practices of the Qur'an recitation among the Muslimat NU communities in two different places, Jombang and Bantul. In the last part of this chapter, I summarize and discuss the various Qur'anic recitation practices within four communities, Aisyiyah in Jombang and Bantul as well as Muslimat NU in Jombang and Bantul.

6.2 Fieldnotes

6.2.1 The Aisyiyah Communities

Jombang, Thursdays, February-March 2018. Once a week, on most Thursdays, after the late afternoon (Ar., 'aṣr, Ind., *asar*) prayer, I can see a crowd of women around the complex of Arroudhoh mosque at Tugu village (*Desa* Tugu), Jombang sub-district (*Kecamatan* Jombang), Jombang Regency (*Kabupaten* Jombang). The mosque is located at one of the Jombang sub-district intersections, not far from the Jombang regency square and central government offices. Some shops and restaurants are around the corner of the mosque. The women who gather in this place are there to attend a women-only Qur'an recitation and study

program. This event is organized by the *Pimpinan Cabang Aisyiyah* in Jombang sub-district. More than a hundred women join the program each week.

An *ustaz* from Muhammadiyah or an *ustazah* from Aisyiyah are invited to provide exegetical commentary on the Qur'an. The attendees are seated in rows inside the mosque, as the *ustaz or ustazah* delivers his/her lecture in the front side of the praying room. Most of the attendees of this Qur'an recitation and study program are housewives. Others are students and working women. The majority of the participants are between the ages of thirty and sixty. There are also young participants in their twenties and those who are older, probably in their seventies. Most of them ride their motorcycle to the mosque; others come by pedi cab (*becak*) or on foot. Many come dressed in a robe (*gamis*) and wear broad hijabs. Some are seen wearing blouses combined with skirts or trousers and not too wide hijabs.

Each participant is served with a small box (*dus*) of snack before entering the mosque. The snack is donated from the Aisyiyah community at the Arroudhoh mosque who routinely participate in this activity. There are about seventeen groups taking turns in providing the snack every week. While waiting for the Qur'an recitation and study event to begin, the attendees read the Qur'an in a loud voice led by some Aisyiyah *ustazahs*. A donation box is circulated among the attendees. They put coins or paper money in it for charity. Around 4:00 p.m., an MC starts the program. Before the *ustaz/ustazah* delivers his/her teaching, the verses of the Qur'an that will be discussed that day are recited by one of the Aisyiyah leaders or members. The Indonesian translation of the verses are also read.[51] Other participants listen in silence while looking at the copy of the Qur'an (Ar., *muṣḥaf,* Ind., *mushaf*)[52] or Qur'an application on their smartphones. Most of the time, the Qur'an recitation and study program ends around 5:15 p.m.

---

[51] To maintain the purity of the Quranic manuscripts in Indonesia, the government of Indonesia established an institution which is tasked with inspecting the Manuscripts. This institution was first formed on 1 October 1959 based on the Minister of Religious Affairs regulation No. 11 1959 under the name of 'the committee of the Qur'an manuscript corrector' (*Lajnah Pentashih Mushaf al-Qur'an*). Since 2007, the name of the committee has been changed into 'the committee of the Qur'an manuscript correction' (*Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf al-Qur'an)*. Based on the decree of the Minister of Religion No. 1 1982, there are several tasks to be carried out by the committee; they are (1) researching and maintaining the purity of the manuscripts, the recordings, the recitations, the translations, and the interpretations of the Qur'an; (2) studying and examining the correctness of the manuscripts of the Qur'an both for ordinary people (common *mushaf*) and for the visually impaired people (braille *mushaf*); examining the spelling of the recorded Qur'an on cassettes, or other electronic discoveries circulating in Indonesia; and (3) discontinuing the circulation of the *mushaf* which has not yet been corrected by the committee. Three types of manuscripts are considered standard and can officially be published in Indonesia. First, *Rasm Usmani* manuscript. This manuscript is written based on the Bombay scripts. This type of manuscript is written with punctuation and letter models that have been widely known by Muslims in Indonesia for decades. Second, *Bahriyah* manuscript. This manuscript is written based on Turkish script. This type of manuscript has also been widely used by Muslims in Indonesia, especially among the memorizers of the Qur'an. This Manuscript is often referred to as 'corner manuscript' since the manuscript ends each page with a complete verse. Third, Braille manuscript. This kind of manuscript is made for the visually impaired people (Akbar, 2011). Most of the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang use the *bahriyah* type of *mushaf* because it is easier for them to end the recitation in each meeting. Besides, this type of *mushaf* is considered more convenient for the memorizers of the Qur'an. In addition to using the *bahriyah mushaf*, the Aisyiyah community in Jombang also depends on the certified translation of the Qur'an issued by *Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf al-Qur'an* from a variety of publishing house (Jombang, 22nd February 2018).

[52] *Mushaf* is a complete text of the Qur'an which is considered as a physical object. When the Qur'an was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad through Jibril, the Prophet memorized the revealed verses of the Qur'an and dictated them to his companions. Besides being memorized, the revealed verses were written on leathers, bones, woods,

Bantul, Sundays in May 2018. Every Sunday after evening (Ar., *'isyā'*, Ind., *isya*) prayer, the local Aisyiyah community in Tirtonirmolo village Kasihan sub-district called the Ummul Mukminat group gather in the 'Sabilal Muhtadin' *musalla* to join a women-only Qur'an recitation and study program. The *musalla* is located on the edge of the Bantul regency highway and is not far from the southern square of Yogyakarta city (*alun-alun kidul kota Yogyakarta).*[53] Most of the time, vehicles are seen passing by during the study, so that the voice of the participants reading the Qur'an must compete with the roar of cars and motorcycles. About thirty to forty women come to this *musalla*. Almost everyone in attendance is over forty years old; some though, are older and probably in their seventies. Many come to this place wearing a robe and wide *hijab*, some are seen wearing skirts paired with tunics and with a regular-sized *hijab*, and others are dressed in loose pants and long tunics. The attendees sit in a circle filling the entire room in the *musalla*. While waiting for the event to start, they usually have a conversation with the other participants.

The event usually starts at 8:00 pm. Bu Munjiyah, the community leader and *ustazah* starts and leads the event. Then, she asks the audiences to open their *mushaf*. Most of them bring a large sized *mushaf* around 21x30 cm. The verses of the Qur'an that will be discussed are read together in a loud voice. After the recitation of the Qur'an, Bu Munjiyah reads the translation of the recited verses in Bahasa Indonesia and continues with the explanation of the verses. She describes the content of the verses, the virtues of reading the verses, and Islamic law or religious issues related to the verses. Usually, there is no interactive dialogue in the forum.

Fifteen minutes before the lesson ends, hot tea drinks and food are usually distributed amongst the audience. Sometimes, the participants are served with cake or traditional snacks such as fried banana (*pisang goreng*). At the other times, they are given a bowl of meatballs *(bakso)* or chicken noodles (*mie ayam*). This food procurement is a donation from the Ummul Mukminat members. Every week, there are two or three members who volunteer to provide food. While listening to the explanation from the *ustazah*, the members are welcome to enjoy the food provided. At the end of the event, the *ustazah* concludes the lesson and reads a *doa* (prayer). The event usually ends at 9:00 p.m.

6.2.2 The Muslimat NU Communities

Jombang, 21st February 2018. It was a rainy evening at the end of February. I was at the house of Bu Faicha, one of the Muslimat NU representatives at Tambakrejo village Jombang sub-district. A few days before, she had invited me to a *selapanan* ceremony[54] held by Bu

stones, date branches and others by some companions known as *kuttāb al-waḥyi* (scribes of the divine revelation) or written by other companions for self-collection. The first official compilation of the Qur'anic verses was undertaken in the period of the first *khalifah* Abu Bakr. The second compilation was done in the period of the third *khalifah* Uthman ibn Affan (**see** Van Lent, 1997, p. 253)**.**

[53] The city of Yogyakarta has two squares. The first square is in front of the palace called the Northern city square (*alun-alun utara/lor).* Another one is located behind the palace and is known as the Southern city square *(alun-alun selatan/kidul)*.

[54] See chapter Three.

Rani, one of the Muslimat NU members in that village. Bu Faicha said that Bu Rani's house was in her neighbourhood, so she asked me to accompany her. From afar, I could hear *salawat*[55] being sung by a woman from a loudspeaker. When we arrived at the house of Bu Rani, some women were sitting in a circle on the floor, which was covered with carpet in the living room of the house. All the guests were women. They were Muslimat NU members within the community group (*Rukun Warga,* usually abbreviated as RW) of Bu Rani's house. Some children had been brought along by their mothers. They were playing together inside the house.

This *selapanan* ceremony coincided with the regular gathering of the local Muslimat NU.[56] While waiting for the other members to arrive, a Muslimat NU representative started the event by reciting *surah al-Fātiḥah*. She then took a microphone and led the recitation of the *Qalbul Qur'an* book.[57] After the *Qalbul Qur'an* book was recited entirely, the participants read together the ninety-nine names of God (*al-Asma' al-Ḥusnā*), *surah al-Ikhlāṣ, surah al-Falaq, surah an-Nās, surah al-Fātiḥah*, and Arabic chanting (Ar. *żikr,* Ind., *zikir*) loudly. The four *surahs* were read several times, continued by the recitation of *doa* led by Bu Faicha.

An MC officially began the *selapanan* event. She spoke in the Javanese language so that the participants who were mostly over their sixties could understand better.[58] She conveyed gratitude to God and read a short *salawat* for the Prophet Muhammad before sharing the purpose of the gathering that evening. She said that Bu Rani invited the local Muslimat NU community that day to participate in the *selapanan* ceremony she held for her grandchild. The sound of the call for *isya* prayer (Ar., *aẓān, Ind., azan*) from a *musalla* next to Bu Rani's house paused the ceremony. All participants were silent for a moment. When the *azan* ended, the ceremony was continued by reciting *surah al-Fātiḥah* three times and singing *salawat nariyah* together.[59]

[55] There are some types of famous *salawat*, in particular among the Nahdlatul Ulama community such as *salawat badar*, s*alawat nariyah, salawat munjiyat*, and others (Fattah, 2009).

[56] According to Bu Faicha, twice a month, the Muslimat NU community in this place organize a gathering. They recite a book called *Qalbul Qur'an* meaning the heart of the Qur'an, perform *tahlilan* (see section 6.3.2), and read *salawat nariyah.* Besides, they read *manaqib* book (Jombang, 21st February 2018). The manaqib book read by the Muslimat NU community in Jombang is the book of biographies of Shaikh Abdul Qadir al-Jailānī. Reading the *manaqib* book of Shaikh Abdul Qadir al- Jailānī is common among the Nahdlatul Ulama community and is considered as good deed. The purpose of this practice is to gain love of the God's saints (*wali-wali Allah*) (Kholil, 2017).

[57] The name of the book is *Qalbul-Qur'ān Pusaka Sapu Jagat Cakra Jaya,* written by kyai Abdul Basit. There are 115 particular verses from several Qur'anic *surah*s written in this book (Basit, n.d.).

[58] There are 668 indigenous local languages spoken by Indonesian people in 2019 based on data provided by the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Kemdikbud) of Indonesia (kemdikbud.go.id). Bahasa Indonesia was declared as the state language on August 18, 1945. However, many Indonesians, in particular elderly who live in villages and do not attend formal educational institutions mostly speak their local language. During my fieldwork, many Javanese people in their sixties had a stronger knowledge of Javanese language rather than Indonesian.

[59] The translation is from https://salawathub.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/durood-nariya.pdf.

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ صَلاَةً كَامِلَةً وَسَلِّمْ سَلاَمًا تامًّا عَلىَ سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ

Allāhumma ṣalli ṣalatan kāmilatan wa sallim salaman tāmman 'alā sayyidinā Muhammadin
O Allah, send perfect blessing and complete greeting of peace upon our master Muhammad

الَّذِيْ تُنْحَلُ بِهَ الْعُقَدُ وَتَنْفَرِجُ بِهِ الْكُرَبُ

Allażī tunḥallu bihi al-'uqodu wa tanfariju bihi al-kurobu
The one by whom problems are solved and anxieties are relieved

وَتُقْضَى بِهِ الْحَوَائِجُ وَتُنَالُ بِهِ الرَّغَائِبُ

Wa tuqḍā bihi al-ḥawāiju wa tunālu bihi ar-raghāibu
And needs are fulfilled, and aspirations are attained

وَحُسْنُ الْخَوَاتِيْمِ وَيُسْتَسْقَى الْغَمَامُ بِوَجْهِهِ الْكَرِيْمِ

Wa ḥusnu al-khawātimi wa yustasqā al-ghamāmu bi wajhihi al-karīmi
And good endings are received, and by whose noble face and clouds give rain

وَعَلىَ آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ فِي كلِّ لمحَةٍ و نَفَس بعَدَدَ كُلِّ مَعْلُوْمٍ لَكَ

wa 'alā ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi fī kulli lamḥatin wa nafasin bi'adadi kulli ma'lūmin laka
and upon his family and companions, with every glance and every breath, by the number of everything that is known to you

The MC gave me a few minutes to introduce myself to the Muslimat NU community. Afterwards, the so-called *ratib al-hadad* (Ar. *Rātib al-haddād*)[60] and *diba'*[61] were read together led by one of the Muslimat NU representatives. In the middle of reading the *diba'*, as the word *maḥallul-qiyām,* meaning time for standing, was read, all the participants stood up. Bu Rani came out from one of the rooms of her house carrying her grandchild. The baby's mother, who was walking close to Bu Rani bringing a tray with scissors and a bowl containing water with the rose petals. They began moving through the guests reading the *diba'* in a melodious voice. Then, they stopped in front of some of the

[60] *Ratib al-hadad* is a book of *zikir* compiled by Abdullah ibn Alawi al-Haddad. The book consists of some Qur'anic *surahs* and verses such as *surah al-Fātiḥah*, throne verses, and the last two verses of *surah al-Baqarah*, *zikir* phrases, and various *doa*.
[61] *Diba'* or *maulid ad-Dībā'i* book is one of the three famous *maulid* books recited by Muslims in Indonesia. The other books are *maulid al-barzanjī* and *maulid al-burdah*. *Maulid ad-Dībā'i* book was written by Ibn ad-*Dībā'*. The book consists of the historical story of the Prophet Muhammad.

guests to cut small pieces of the baby's hair and put the hair in the rose water. The guests then placed their hands on the baby's head or kissed him. Afterwards, a family member of Bu Rani brought a small bowl filled up with coins. The coins were thrown, the guests, particularly the children, took them from the floor happily. At the end of the ceremony, Bu Faicha led a *doa* in the Arabic language. In her *doa*, she asked God to safeguard the baby and make him a pious person.

When the prayer was over, food and drink were served. Bu Rani provided *nasi soto ayam* (traditional Indonesian soup containing broth, chicken, boiled egg, and different kinds of vegetables) and hot tea for the guests. Before leaving Bu Rani's house, the other guests and I were given *berkat* to be taken home.

Bantul, 23rd May 2018. It was the first week of Ramadan 2018 when I joined the *tadarus* Ramadan activity held by one of the Muslimat NU communities in Panggungharjo village Sewon sub-district Bantul. This *tadarus* activity was held at the Darussalam Mosque. The mosque was large and had a porch that could accommodate more than three hundred people for praying in congregation. The mosque's courtyard was used by the visitors to park their vehicles. A large whiteboard was placed on the veranda of the mosque. Some Ramadan activities were listed on it. For instance, *kuliah subuh* (religious lectures delivered after *subuh* prayer), *tarawih* prayer schedule, *takjil* procurement (food and drink for breaking the fast), *tadarus*, *iktikaf*, *Nuzūl al-Qur'ān* festival, the distribution of *zakat fitrah*, and other religious activities.

Around 7:00 p.m., the congregation of men, women and children filled the mosque and veranda. The activity started with *isya* prayer in congregation led by a *kyai* continued by a short religious lecture known as *kultum*. The *kyai* explained the importance of repentance, keeping away from sin, and performing devotional acts during the month of Ramadan. The lecture was delivered using the Javanese language of Yogyakarta. He hoped that the content of the lecture could be understood and implemented by the congregations as they were mostly Bantul Yogyakarta inhabitants.

When the lecture was over, the male *imam* (prayer leader) began to lead the *tarawih* and *witir* prayers (non-obligatory prayer performed at night after *isya* time until before *subuh* prayer during or outside the Ramadan month). After the *tarawih* and *witir* prayers were performed, around fifteen women gathered at the mosque's veranda and sat in a circle wearing their prayer clothes (*mukena*). Meanwhile, ten women stayed inside the female praying room and sat facing towards the direction of *Ka'bah*. These women were local Muslimat and Fatayat NU members who resided near the mosque. All of them stayed at the mosque to perform their *tadarus* activities. The participants of the first group, who conducted the *tadarus* outside the praying room, were women between forty to sixty years old. On the other hand, the second group, who performed the *tadarus* inside the praying room, was younger than forty. An *ustazah* came and guided the first group. She led the Qur'an recitation in a loud voice. Occasionally she corrected the recitation based on *tajwid* rules. Unlike the first group, the second group recited the Qur'an in turns using a loudspeaker without the guidance of the *ustazah*. At 9:30 p.m., the first group finished their recitation. The *ustazah* ended the activity by reading *doa*. Two young men from the mosque's board distributed food

and drink for all the participants. After finishing their food and drink, the first group left the mosque, while the second group continued the *tadarus* activity for another half an hour.

6.3 Public Gatherings Among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU in Jombang and Bantul

Four different events above are among public gatherings I participated during my fieldwork within the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul. Public gatherings are common within the Aisyiyah communities throughout Indonesia. In Jombang, these public gatherings started to emerge around 1964 or 1965 when some of the women involved in Muhammadiyah began to conduct a regular *pengajian*. According to Bu Mulik, the chairperson of the Aisyiyah district executive in Jombang, at that time, only a few women joined the *pengajian*. With the effort of K.H. Siddik Abbas, the former chairperson of Muhammadiyah and the head of the Religious Department (*Departemen Agama*) of Indonesia in Jombang from 1980-1990, many Muslim women followed the gathering. Then, they became members or sympathizers of the Aisyiyah organization. The regular *pengajian* was held publicly in a small *musalla* before being moved to the Arroudhoh mosque in Tugu village (Jombang, 22nd March 2018). When I conducted my fieldwork in 2018, around two hundred women joined this *pengajian* in the Arroudhoh mosque.

Apart from *pengajian* conducted in the Arroudhoh mosque, other public gatherings with *pengajian* as the main agenda were organized by the Aisyiyah boards and being held in every sub-district and village within the regency of Jombang. The gatherings were conducted weekly, monthly, annually, or occasionally. In these gatherings, various agendas were done such as learning Islamic knowledge and performing religious rituals. An *ustaz from* Muhammadiyah or an *ustazah* from Aisyiyah taught the lessons or led the rituals. In Jombang, besides *pengajian*, public gatherings were also conducted by the Aisyiyah communities on the occasion of life cycle and various calendrical events.

In the regency of Bantul Special Region of Yogyakarta, various public gatherings were also organized by the Aisyiyah communities. Like in Jombang, public gatherings had been conducted regularly among the Aisyiyah community in Bantul. Public gathering with *pengajian* as the main agenda, for instance, was routinely held in every village and sub-district. Islamic teachings and rituals were delivered and led by an *ustaz* from Muhammadiyah or an *ustaz*ah from Aisyiyah (Interview with bu Marsudiyati, the representative of the Aisyiyah *Majelis Tabligh* in Bantul. Bantul, 29th August 2018).

In addition to *pengajian*, within the regency of Bantul, a few Aisyiyah communities gathered in various events such as life cycle, calendrical or occasional rituals. Among these communities, I was recommended by Ummi Misma, one of the Aisyiyah central executives, to perform my fieldwork in the Kasihan sub-district since in this sub-district, two communities, namely Ummul Mukminat and Ummahatul Mukminin, held the aforementioned activities. The members of both communities consisted of the Aisyiyah leaders, members and sympathizers. Bu Munjiyah (see her biography in chapter Seven), the *ustazah* of both communities and a member of the provincial *Majelis Tabligh* of Aisyiyah,

shared her memories with me when she moved to the Kasihan sub-district and told me how the public gathering among the Ummul Mukminat and Ummahatul Mukminin communities began.

Bu Munjiyah recounted that the *Musalla* of Sabilal Muhtadin, where the Ummul Mukminat community conducted gatherings and meetings, was founded around 1988, not long after she started her career as a religious teacher in one of the Muhammadiyah's schools within the area of the Kasihan sub-district. The land where the *musalla* was built was a gift from one of the local Aisyiyah members. When it was founded, the *musalla* was managed by the Aisyiyah members and used as a women-only space. Due to some obstacles, however, the management of the *musalla* was handed over to the Muhammadiyah members. Since then, the *musalla* had been used by both male and female Muslims. Some religious activities such as *pengajian,* Qur'an recitation and study program, as well as public religious rituals were held regularly in this *musalla* organized by the Muhammadiyah or Aisyiyah communities.

The establishment of the Ummul Mukminat community was initiated by one of the local Aisyiyah members who wanted to learn to read the Qur'an. In addition, the commitment of Bu Munjiyah to practice the Qur'anic verse 104 of *surah Ali 'Imrān* wherever she lives played an essential role. The verse suggests that Muslims should enjoin right conduct and forbid indecent behaviour. In the opinion of Bu Munjiyah, forming a study group and holding a religious gathering is part of commanding the good and forbidding the indecent behaviour within society. When I did my fieldwork, there were about 45 women in the Ummul Mukminat community all with varying educational and occupational backgrounds.

The other community, Ummahatul Mukminin, was established around 1994 by one of the Kasihan sub-district social organizations called Family Welfare and Empowerment *(Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga, PKK).*[62] Female members of this organization regularly conducted meetings and religious activities. The organization's board used to organize a public gathering and invite an *ustaz or ustazah* to deliver Islamic teaching. Over time, this activity then developed into a regular Qur'an recitation and study program, which was managed by the local Aisyiyah community. Van Doorn-Harder (2006), in her study, indicates such a phenomenon. According to her, the Aisyiyah organization utilize meetings established by the government of Indonesia to spread its ideas, such as at a PKK meeting for mothers and children. In this PKK meeting, an Aisyiyah *ustazah* usually gives a short religious lecture (p. 45).

When I did my fieldwork, there were around 70 Ummahatul Mukminin members with various educational and occupational backgrounds. In contrast to the Ummul Mukminat community, which mostly carried out its public gathering in one place, the Ummahatul

[62] The Family Welfare and Empowerment (Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga) previously was known as Family Welfare Development (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*) abbreviated as PKK is a community development program. It was initiated by the wife of the former governor of Central Java, isriati Moenadi in 1967. The program was implemented throughout the Central Java province from the provincial, sub-district and village levels and was managed by the wife of the regional and community leaders. With the success of the program in the Central Java province, the president of the Republic of Indonesia recommended to the Minister of Home Affairs to implement the PKK program throughout Indonesia. In 2000 the name of Family Welfare Development was changed to Family Welfare and Empowerment (See https://pkk.jakarta.go.id/sejarah-pkk/).

Mukminin community moved from one place to another within the Kasihan sub-district. The gatherings took place in 'Nur Achmad' Mosque, 'Amaliro' *musalla*, 'Sabilal Muhtadin' *musalla*, and a private *musalla* owned by one of the Aisyiyah leaders. Bu Munjiyah and four *ustazahs* took turns in delivering Islamic knowledge and led Islamic rituals within this community.

Similar to the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul, public gatherings have long been held among the Muslimat NU communities in both places. When I asked the Muslimat NU members, they did not remember precisely when these public gatherings began. Bu Tika, who was forty-eight years old when I conducted my fieldwork, said that since she was a child, the Muslimat NU public gatherings had been held in her neighbourhood. Likewise, Bu Haulah, who was in her sixties, told me that she had been participating in the Muslimat NU public gatherings since she was in her thirties. In 2011, there were approximately 38,000 Muslimat NU *majelis taklim* with various public gatherings throughout Indonesia. Public *pengajian*, the communal recitation of the Qur'an, life cycle rituals, and Islamic festival events are among the agendas of the gatherings (Husnawati & Setiawan, 2019).

6.4 The Qur'anic Recitation Practices Among the Aisyiyah Communities

Among Javanese Muslims, either the so-called *abangan* or *agami Jawi* and some *santris*, several rituals are performed in each passage of life phase, such as pregnancy, childbirth, baby naming, marriage and death. Among *santri* communities, practices such as performing prayer, reciting the Qur'an, reading *doa,* or *sedekah* are usually performed during the rituals (see chapter Three). On the other hand, *selametan*, which is considered an essential part of the rituals by the *agami Jawi* people, is rarely performed by the *santri*. As noted in chapter Four and earlier in this chapter, organizationally, Muhammadiyah's attitude toward local culture has changed over time. Prior to the 1930s, Muhammadiyah showed respect for some elements of Javanese culture, such as wearing Javanese clothes. Apart from this, the Muhammadiyah leadership did not condemn some Javanese rituals such as the commemoration of the Prophet's birthday (*Garebeg Maulud*) held by the Sultanate of Yogyakarta which is believed to contain many elements of non-Islamic practices and did not object Javanese product such as *wayang* (Burhani, 2005). After the 1930s, Muhammadiyah tended to be more antagonistic to Javanese culture. Jinan, a Muhammadiyah scholar, in one of his articles published by "*Suara Muhammadiyah"* stated that Muhammadiyah was once accused of being responsible for the death of local cultures through its 'purification' agenda (Jinan, 2020). In the 2000s, because of internal criticism and the need for improvement, Muhammadiyah attempted to reconsider its *dakwah* method. Therefore, Muhammadiyah brought the concept of *dakwah kultural* which attempted to synergize the purification agenda and the appreciation of local culture.

The attitude towards local culture differs across members of Muhammadiyah. The perspective of the Muhammadiyah members on this issue varies from one region to another.

Research conducted by Beck (1995) shows that Muhammadiyah members from Yogyakarta tended to accept some parts of the *Garebeg Maulud* ritual. On the contrary, Muhammadiyah members from Pekalongan Central Java and Minangkabau West Sumatra had a tendency to resist the ritual and assume that this celebration was not part of a 'pure Islam'. Mughni in Qomar (2021, p. 226) argues that Muhammadiyah consists of three groups, Muhammadiyah Paciran East Java, Malang East Java, and Yogyakarta. In his opinion, Muhammadiyah members in Yogyakarta are more tolerant towards local cultures and customs compared to Muhammadiyah members elsewhere. Research conducted by Kim among the modernist community in Kolojonggo village in Yogyakarta shows that the modernist or reformist group in this village holds a *kenduri* at each important passage of the individual's life, including pregnancy and death rituals as mentioned in chapter One (Kim, 1996).

Attiudes of Muhammadiyah members also vary from one region to another. The perspective of the members in one region can also be different. Mulkhan (2010) illustrates that Muhammadiyah followers in Wuluhan Jember, one of the rural areas in East Java, is divided into four groups based on their different attitudes toward local culture. The first group is called *al-Ikhlas.* This group is said to be the representation of a 'pure Islam' that attempts to implement all Islamic teachings based on the decision of Majelis Tarjih Muhammadiyah, especially related to the *tahayul, bid'ah* and *khurafat* practices. The second group is called *Kiai Dahlan* group. This group is considered tolerant toward the traditions containing *tahayul, bid'ah* and *khurafat* practices. However, they do not participate on some occasions in which the *tahayul, bid'ah* and *khurafat* practices are found, unless they are invited to attend the events or after some elements of the tradition are neutralized. The third group is called *MuNu* (Muhammadiyah NU). This group keeps the traditions containing *tahayul, bid'ah* and *khurafat* practices. The followers of this group join some neutralized rituals which are mostly performed by the members of the NU organization such as *tahlilan* and *selametan*, except the funerary rituals. The last group is called *MarMud* (Marhaenis Muhammadiyah). This group performs Javanese rituals usually performed by *abangan* or *kejawen* followers which contain *tahayul, bid'ah* and *khurafat.*

During my fieldwork, in Jombang, many of the Aisyiyah communities did not hold or attend Javanese life cycle rituals. For instance, seventh month pregnancy ritual, *brokohan*, *babaran,* or *selapanan* childbirth rituals, various *selametan* during circumcision or marriage rituals, and death rituals such as seventh, fortieth, hundredth, thousandth days rituals or *haul* ceremony. Many of them only held life cycle rituals based on textual references (practiced by the Prophet Muhammad and his companions). For example, *khitan*, *ijab kabul* and *walimahan* ceremonies, and funeral rites such as bathing, shrouding the body of the corpse and performing *salat jenazah.* On most of these life cycle ritual occasions, the Qur'an recitation was practised by the communities. However, it was not performed communally.

Unlike the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang, in addition to holding and participating in 'Islamic' life cycle rituals based on textual references, most of the Aisyiyah communities in Kasihan Bantul conducted some additional life cycle rituals. For example, they held the fourth or seventh months pregnancy ritual, sending *doa* ritual for the deceased family and three days death rituals. Nevertheless, instead of conducting *selametan* as practised by Javanese people, the Aisyiyah communities in this place performed the

communal recitation of the Qur'an, read *doa*, and listened to a religious lecture (*ceramah agama*) on the above occasions. The recitation of the Qur'an became one of the important practices in the ritual. According to Bu Munjiyah, the recitation of the Qur'an was one of the devotional deeds in Islam. It could be an intercession to draw closer to God with the hope that the *doa* read by the community was answered by God (Bantul, 9th May 2018).

6.4.1 Life Cycle Rituals

Fourth and Seventh months pregnancy rituals

The first life cycle ritual during which the Qur'an is recited is *empat bulanan* or *ngupati* ceremony. *Empat bulanan* ceremony is performed during pregnancy, when a prospective mother reaches her fourth month of pregnancy. The practice of this ritual is based on the hadith narrated by al-Bukhārī about the creation of human being as described in chapter Three "the creation of each one of you is brought together in his mother's womb for forty days in the form of a drop (*nuṭfah*), then he becomes a clot of blood (*'alaqah*) for another forty days, and then a piece of flesh for another forty days. Then Allah sends an angel to write four words: He writes his deeds, time of his death, means of his livelihood, and whether he will be wretched or blessed (in the Hereafter). Then the soul is breathed into his body" (Al-Bukhārī, 1997, bk. 60 hadith number 3332). This hadith implies that the soul is breathed into the foetus at around one hundred and twenty days (approximately four months).

Many of the Aisyiyah communities in Kasihan sub-district Bantul performed this fourth month pregnancy ceremony. The process of the ritual varied from one host to another. Nevertheless, the pattern of the ritual was similar. There were Qur'an recitation practices, communal prayer (*doa bersama*), *ceramah agama*, and serving drinks and food by the host. Bu Munjiyah said that there are no rules about performing this ritual in the Qur'an. However, in her opinion, this fourth month pregnancy ritual is allowed to be conducted/performed because only Islamic practices are performed in it. For instance, the community gathers in the host's place, recite the Qur'an, and read *doa* together for the purpose that God will blow a good spirit to the baby. In addition, there is no *syirik* practised in this ritual (Bantul, 9th May 2018).

Within the Aisyiyah community in Kasihan Bantul, a fourth month pregnancy ceremony was held in the house of the prospective mother, her parents' house, or her parent-in-laws' house. The Aisyiyah community who held such ritual invited all the members of the community from the same study group, some neighbours and relatives who lived in the same village. The invitation for the members of the community was announced at the end of the regular Qur'an recitation and study event. Most of the time, the ceremony was performed in the evening after *isya* prayer. Once, I was invited to the fourth month pregnancy ritual by Bu Munjiyah. Bu Rini, one of the Ummul Mukminat members, held this ritual for her pregnant daughter. Besides, the event was held to celebrate the *akad nikah* of Bu Rini's son, which was conducted earlier that day. The guests gathered in the living room of the Bu Rini's house

and sat on mats that were placed on the bare floor. The furniture was removed and placed in the veranda of the house so that the room was spacious enough to sit many people.

The ritual was started with the recitation of the Qur'an *surah al-Fātiḥah* together by all the attendees and followed by a brief greeting. In this event, Bu Rini asked Bu Munjiyah to be her representative in conveying the greeting. After a brief greeting, the ceremony continued with the recitation of *surah Yūsuf*, *surah Maryam* and *surah ar-Raḥmān*. I asked Bu Munjiyah about the intention of reciting those *surah*s. She told me that reciting *surah Yūsuf* and *Maryam* was common during pregnancy. *Surah Yūsuf* contained the story of the life of Prophet Yusuf and his good character. By reciting *surah Yūsuf*, they hoped that he would have a good character like prophet Yusuf if the unborn baby were a boy. *Surah Maryam* contained the narrative of Maryam, the mother of Prophet Isa, her struggle during pregnancy and childbirth, and her obedience to God. They hoped that if the prospective child were a girl, she would be a devoted person and have good behaviour like Maryam. *Surah ar-Raḥmān*, on the other hand, was recited to pray for the new couple to have a happy marriage life, have tranquillity (*sakīnah*), love (*mawaddah*) and mercy (*raḥmah*) in their new chapter of life.

Owing to limited time, only some verses of *surah Yūsuf, surah Maryam*, and *surah ar-Raḥmān* were recited at that time. All the Qur'anic verses were recited together slowly and led by Bu Munjiyah using a loudspeaker. Some people recited directly from the *mushaf*, some carry a particular book containing the choice of some verses usually read in daily rituals,[63] and others read from their mobile phones. After completely reading aloud the selected verses from the *surah Yūsuf, surah Maryam*, and *surah ar-Raḥmān*, the event was continued with reading *doa* by Bu Munjiyah. When the prayer finished, the host served hot tea and fried noodle. At the end of the event, some community members told me that providing meals for the guests was common to honour them. There was no special food like *tumpeng*. It was just ordinary food. After having been served with hot tea and fried noodle, the guests were welcome to enjoy the prepared drink and food. While enjoying the drink and food, Bu Munjiyah went on with a *ceramah agama* with the theme of parental obligation in educating children as well as regarding the rights and obligations of husband and wife. The event was closed with the *doa* read by Bu Munjiyah. At the end, Bu Rini conveyed her apologies to the guests for all the shortcomings of the arrangements of the ceremony. Before the guests left Bu Rini's house, they were provided a food packaged in boxes made of carton called *berkat* containing rice, side dishes and some snacks to be taken home (Bantul, 8th May 2018).

[63] The book is a compilation of some *surah*s of the Qur'an that are usually recited during life cycle rituals. In the past, bu Munjiyah bought some books for the community. The fund which was used to buy the books was from charity (*infak*) money collected by the community in the Qur'an recitation and study event. The community agreed to use the money to buy the books. The price of each book was Rp. 7000,-. In 2018, it costed Rp. 25,000,. The title of the book is *Majmu' Syarif disertai fahilah, khasiat dan keutamaan ayat-ayat al-Qur'an, doa-doa penting sehari-hari, macam-macam salawat* compiled by M. Syafi'i and published by Arkola.



Figure 1: The guests were given *berkat* to be taken home at the fourth month pregnancy event
(Bantul, 8th May 2018)

Another ritual performed during pregnancy is *tujuh bulanan*. In Javanese culture, this ritual is often called *mitoni* or *tingkepan* and carried out by a pregnant woman at her seventh month pregnancy (see chapter Three). Bu Munjiyah told me that the Aisyiyah community in Kasihan Bantul used to perform this ritual in the past. But now, most of them only perform the fourth month pregnancy ritual. Bu Sari is one of the Aisyiyah members who had experience performing this event in the past. She shared the following story:

> I am a housewife and have been a member of Aisyiyah for a long time. I wasn't active, but now I am active because I am old and have already retired from my job […] When I was pregnant, I was still living with my parents. We had *siraman* (pouring water to the future mother's body), then preparing items such as *cengkir* (young coconut fruit). After *siraman,* I changed my clothes seven times. My parents conducted this event for me. They also *nanggap wayang* (having a puppet performance) (Bantul, 24th April 2018)

In the Javanese tradition, special foods are prepared during the ceremony of *tingkepan*. For example, seven *tumpeng* with seven different side dishes. Apart from this, seven different colours of puddings are also made. A *wayang* performance is held from evening until morning (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, pp. 352–353). When Bu Sari was pregnant, her parents held a seventh month pregnancy event inclusive of some Javanese traditions such as having *siraman*, preparing young coconut fruit, changing clothes seven times and having a *wayang* performance. Now, however, she does not conduct such events for her children.

The Aisyiyah community in Kasihan Bantul, which carried out the seventh month pregnancy ceremony, only invited the community members and relatives to read the Qur'an *surah Yūsuf* and *Maryam* and asked an *ustazah* to convey religious lecture. Sometimes, they read surah Yāsīn instead of *surah Maryam and Yūsuf*. Bu Ali, a 45-year-old religious instructor (*penyuluh*) civil servant and a member of Aisyiyah in Bantul with a master's degree educational background, told me that when she was invited on the seventh month pregnancy ceremony occasion by the Ummul Mukminat community, she and other guests were asked to read *surah Yāsīn*. In her opinion, any verse or *surah* of the Qur'an is alright to be recited. The most important thing is the intention in reading the verse or *surah*. Some women preferred to read *surah Yāsīn* in their seventh month pregnancy to ask God to make it easier for them in delivering the baby. Regarding the food, unlike in the Javanese tradition, there was no special food prepared by the host in this seventh month pregnancy ritual. She said that it depends on the host regarding what kind of food or drink she wants to provide for the guests (Bantul, 13th May 2018).

'Aqīqah and khitan

'Aqīqah is one of the Islamic rituals practised by Muslims worldwide. *'Aqīqah* means the sacrifice of an animal on the childbirth occasion as an expression of gratitude to God (Ibn Musa Afanah, 2003, p. 11). As noted in chapter Three, the practice of *'aqīqah* is based on some prophetic traditions that the Prophet Muhammad and his companions sacrifice animals for a newborn baby. Usually, two sheep are slaughtered for a baby boy, and one sheep is slaughtered for a baby girl. On this occasion, the baby's hair is shaved, and the baby's name is announced officially.

Many of the ulama view *'aqīqah* as *sunnah mu'akkadah* (a voluntary act which was performed by the Prophet continuously and was rarely abandoned) (Az-Zuḥailī, 1985, vol. 3, p. 637). *'Aqīqah* is usually performed seven days after a baby is born. This practice is based on some hadiths indicating that the Prophet performed *'aqīqah* for his grandchildren Hasan and Husein on the seventh day after their birth. For instance, a hadith narrated by at-Tirmiżī (2007, bk. 29 hadith number 1522) and Ibn Mājah (n.d., bk. 27 hadith number 3165) from Samurah that the Prophet said: "a boy is mortgaged by his *'aqīqah.* Slaughtering should be done for him on the seventh day, he should be given a name and his head should be shaved". There is no different opinion concerning the practice of *'aqīqah* on the seventh day after the birth.

Nevertheless, there is a disagreement among ulama with regard to performing *'aqīqah* before or after the seventh day of the childbirth. Some ulama such as Syafi'i *mazhab* scholars, state that *'aqīqah* suffices even if it is performed before the seventh day of the baby's birth. In addition, in the opinion of Syafi'i *mazhab* scholars, performing *'aqīqah* on the fourteenth or twenty-first day after the baby is born is allowed (Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, n.d., vol. 4, p. 461). The other ulama such as Maliki *mazhab* scholars argue that performing *'aqīqah* before or after the seventh day of the baby's birth is not permitted (aṣ-Ṣan'ānī, n.d., vol. 4, p. 181). In this issue, the Muhammadiyah organization through Majelis Tarjih dan

Tajdid views that '*aqīqah* is only performed when a child is seven days old (Majelis Tarjih&Tajdid PP Muhammadiyah, 2021). At the '*aqīqah* ceremony, the parents give a good name and pray for the child to get a blessing from God (Majelis Tarjih&Tajdid PP Muhammadiyah, 2019).

Apart from '*aqīqah,* circumcision (Ind., *sunatan* or *khitan*) is a widespread practice among Muslim society. The practice of circumcision is mentioned in some *hadiths* such as a *hadith* narrated by Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj (2007, Chapter 16 hadith number 597) from Abu Hurairah that the Prophet said: "Five are the acts of *fiṭrah* (sound innate disposition): circumcision, shaving the pubic hair, cutting the nails, plucking the hair under the armpits and clipping the moustache". Among Muslim scholars, in particular the four *mazhab*s, there are some differences regarding the rulings of male circumcision. The majority of ulama, including Syafii *mazhab* scholars, consider male circumcision compulsory (As-Syarbīnī, 1997, vol. 4, pp. 267-268). On the other hand, some ulama, such as Hanafi *mazhab* scholars regard male circumcision as a recommended action not obligatory. As for female circumcision (Ar., *khifāḍ*) some of the Syafii *mazhab* scholars and the Hanbali *mazhab* scholars state that *khifāḍ* is compulsory. The majority of ulama, however, including most of the Hanafi, Syafii, Maliki and Hanbali *mazhab* scholars regard *khifāḍ* as recommended or part of traditions (Mahmūd, n.d., v. 1, pp. 279-281). Related to female circumcision issue, Muhammadiyah organization neither obligates nor recommends it (Majelis Tarjih&Tajdid PP Muhammadiyah, 2015, pp. 48–50).

Among the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul, *aqīqah* and *khitan* ceremonies were common practices. The *aqīqah* ceremony was held on the seventh day of the birth while the *khitan* ceremony was done before a boy becomes a *mukallaf.* Only those who had money held the ceremonies and invited their surrounding neighbours. During the ceremonies, the recitation of the Qur'an and other Islamic practices were performed by both communities. Bu Laily said that the other Aisyiyah members are invited when one of the Aisyiyah surrounding Arroudhoh mosque holds an *aqīqah* or *khitan* ceremony for their children. Two sheep for a baby boy or one sheep for a baby girl are slaughtered on this day. The ceremony was started by the recitation of the Qur'an performed by one of the Aisyiyah members. Any verse or *surah* could be chosen to be recited on this occasion. Most of the time, the invited *ustaz* or *ustazah,* or the host decided which verse or surah was recited. The ceremony was continued by shaving the hair of the baby and announcing his/her name. The *ustaz* or *ustaz*ah then delivered a religious lecture regarding *aqīqah or khitan in Islam,* continued with the recitation of *doa.* In the *aqīqah* ceremony, the host gave the cooked meat of the sheep for the guests, while in the *khitan* ceremony, the host provided rice with side dishes in a meal box (Jombang, 28th May 2018).

Like the Aisyiyah community in Jombang, when a member of Ummul Mukminat or Ummahatul Mukminin community in Kasihan Bantul held an *aqīqah* or male *khitan* ceremony, the other members were invited. In these communities, the ceremonies were started with the recitation of the Qur'an. However, unlike the Aisyiyah community in Jombang, who read any verse or *surah* of the Qur'an, within the Ummul Mukminat or Ummahatul Mukminin community, particular *surahs* were chosen to be recited on these occasions. Bu Munjiyah told me that the invited guests used to read *surah ar-Raḥmān* or

surah Luqmān together. She said, *surah ar-Raḥmān* is recited to show gratefulness to God because the '*aqīqah* and *khitan* ceremonies are happy events, while *surah Luqmān* is recited so that the members can learn some lessons from Luqman's life, especially in educating his son. For instance, he gave advice to his son to worship Allah and avoid *syirik*, honour his parents, perform prayers and others (Bantul, 13th May 2018). Apart from reciting the mentioned *surahs*, the guests read *doa* together led by the *ustazah.* Sometimes, reading *barzanji*[64] was included in the *aqīqah* ceremony. Like in fourth month pregnancy ritual, on these occasions, the host also asked the *ustazah* to give a short religious lecture. At the end of the ceremonies, the guests were provided with food and drink. There was no particular food served in these events. The community members told me that the food procurement depends on the abilities of the host.

Akad nikah and walimahan

The Aisyiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul also held some ceremonies related to marriage. The most common ceremonies practiced by both communities were *akad nikah* and *walimahan*. In Islam, marriage implies "a process through which a man and woman by means of a particular form of contract (*akad*) are united and live together legitimately as husband and wife" (Laluddin et al., 2014). In order to live together and become legally husband and wife, *akad nikah* must be done by Muslims. Therefore, the *akad nikah* ceremony is mandatory and is practised by Muslims in various places. Unlike the *akad nikah* ceremony, conducting *walimahan* is not obligated but recommended. As noted in chapter Three, the practice of *walimahan* is based on some *hadiths*. For instance, a hadith narrated by al-Bukhārī (1997), 'AbdurRaḥmān ibn 'Auf said that the Prophet told him "give a *walīmah*, even with one sheep" (Bk. 67 hadith number 5167).

In Indonesia, Muslims usually hold the *akad nikah* ceremony in the local Religious Affairs Office (*Kantor Urusan Agama*, KUA), in a private house, or a mosque. On the other hand, the *walimahan* ceremony is mostly held in a private house or a wedding venue. Within the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul, a male reciter (Ar., *qāri'*) or a female reciter (Ar., *qāri'ah*) was invited to recite the Qur'an at the beginning of *akad nikah* and *walimahan* ceremonies. On this occasion, the *qāri'* or *qāri'ah* recited some verses related to marriage, such as *surah ar-Rūm* verse 21 "Another of His signs is that He created spouses from among yourselves for you to live within tranquillity. He ordained love and kindness between you. There truly are signs in this for those who reflect."

The communal recitation of the Qur'an on the *akad nikah* or *walimahan* occasions were not common among the Aisyiyah community in Jombang. On the other hand, it was

[64] Al-Barzanji is one of the most famous and important books on the story of the Prophet Muhammad's life. The complete name of the book is *Iqd al-Jawhar Fī Mawlid al-Nabi.* This book is widely read by Sunni Muslim in the world, including Indonesian Muslim. Among some Muslim societies in Indonesia, Al-Barzanji is usually recited on Thursday evening and on special occasions such as '*aqīqah* ceremony and the commemoration of the Prophet's birthday. The poems in the Al-Barzanji are usually sung accompanied by a tambourine sound. According to Bu Sumaiya, one of the Aisyiyah members who was the leader of the local barzanji group, sometimes, her group is invited to *aqīqah* ceremony. She used an old, printed copy of the *Barzanji* book she got from her mother.

commonly practiced by the Asiyiyah community in Kasihan Bantul. If one of the Ummul Mukminat or Ummahatul Mukminin members' children was getting married, she held a *pengajian* and marriage feast (*selametan pernikahan*). The host invited her family, neighbours, and the Aisyiyah community members surrounding her house to this event. As described above during the *pengajian* and *selametan pernikahan* of Bu Rini's son (see pregnancy ritual section), the community members recited *surah ar-Raḥmān* together and read *doa* led by Bu Munjiyah hoping for the couple to have a happy marriage life, *sakīnah, mawaddah* and *raḥmah* in their new chapter of life. Apart from reciting *surah ar-Raḥmān* and *doa*, Bu Rini asked Bu Munjiyah to deliver a short religious lecture, then provided food and drink for the guests.

The *pengajian* and *selametan pernikahan* were held before or after conducting *akad nikah.* The time was not specified. It could be a day, two days or one week before or after the *akad nikah* depending on the desire of the host. Bu Sari, one of the members of Aisyiyah in Kasihan Bantul preferred to conduct the *pengajian* and *selametan pernikahan* ceremony before *akad nikah*. She shared her memory when when her son was getting married': "when my son was getting married, I invited the Ummul Mukminat members here to come to my house before conducting *akad nikah*. The intention is to pray for the event to run smoothly without any obstacles. I ask them to perform the Qur'an recitation" (Bantul, 9th May 2018).

Unlike Bu Sari, Bu Rini and Bu Tugirah chose to hold the *pengajian* and *selametan pernikahan* after conducting *akad nikah*. Bu Rini conducted the event in the same day, after holding the *akad nikah* ceremony at the local *Kantor Urusan Agama* (Bantul, 8th May 2018). Meanwhile, Bu Tugirah held the *pengajian* and *selametan pernikahan* a few days after conducting the *akad nikah*. Here is the narration of Bu Tugirah:

> When my child got married, I did not hold a big *kenduri* because my child was a boy. A few days after the *akad nikah*, I held a *pengajian* and invited my neighbours. The guests came, then recited the Qur'an. After reading the Qur'an together, the guests were served drinks and snacks. While enjoying the drink and snack, an *ustaz or ustazah* delivered a religious lecture. At the end of the ceremony, the guests were provided with a meal. When the invited guests left my house, I gave them *berkat* to be taken home (Bantul, 13th May 2018).

Death rituals

Within the community of Aisyiyah in Jombang, if one of the Aisyiyah members passes away, other members come to the family of the deceased to express their condolence (Ar., *ta'ziyah,* Ind., *ta'ziah*) and perform *salat jenazah.* There is no special ritual except the common ritual performed by Muslims worldwide such as bathing and shrouding the deceased body, followed by *salat jenazah* and burial. Most of the Aisyiyah members I interviewed did not hold other death rituals which were usually practiced by Javanese people, such as *selametan surtanah, nelung dina, mitung dina, matangpuluh dina, nyatus dina,* etc (see chapter Three). Besides, they did not come to the death *selametan* ritual when they were invited by their neighbour such as Bu Nunuk (Jombang, 17th August 2018), Bu Nabila (Jombang, 17th August

2018) and Bu Ina (Jombang, 25th February 2018). A few members such as Bu Asih (Jombang, 17th August 2018) and Bu Salmah (Jombang, 17th August 2018) did not hold such rituals, but they came when they were invited by their neighbour. Bu Salmah said that she was told by an *ustaz* to come to the invitation as long as she did not performe *syirik*. In her opinion, attending the invitation was considered as respecting others (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

Many of the Asiyiyah community in Jombang regarded performing or attending the above death rituals (such as *selametan surtanah, nelung dina, mitung dina, matangpuluh dina, nyatus dina,* etc) as *bid'ah* since the Prophet and his companions did not practice these rituals. They rejected these practices taken from Javanese culture. Some of the Aisyiyah sympathizers such as Bu Dwi, however, argued that performing and attending such rituals is allowed if the event is intended for sending *doa* by reciting the Qur'an and giving *sedekah*. For her, as long as the traditions are neutralized by abandoning the *'syirik'* parts and inserting Islamic practices, Muslims may practice the rituals. She shared her opinion and experience with me:

> Muhammadiyah people usually do not want to do them at all (holding or attending *selametan* for the dead people) and eating food from this ritual because they think that those in sorrow should not spend money for *selametan*. I myself think that if the left family cannot conduct the *selametan,* they may not be forced. After my son passed away, I was his relative capable of holding the *selametan* because I was still working, and the food provided (for the selametan) were from the visitors. I just sat down while my neighbours were cooking. In this area, there are around 70 households. If one of their family passes away, we come to recite *surah Yāsīn*, *tahlil*, and *doa* after *asar* prayer, while the male Muslims come after *isya* prayer (Jombang, 25th February 2018).

When the son of Bu Dwi passed away, her neighbour came to her house, made some food, read *surah Yāsīn*, *tahlil* and sent *doa* for the deceased son. Apart from holding the death ritual, Bu Dwi attends the ritual if she is invited. She attends the ritual because she hopes when she dies later, other people will come to her house and pray for her. For most of the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang, they tended to abandon Javanese tradition related to the death rituals. On the other hand, Bu Dwi choose to maintain her identity as Muslim while trying to take some elements of the Javanese ritual. Instead of amputation, neutralization is her acculturation strategy.

Unlike the Aisyiyah community in Jombang, among the Aisyiyah community in Kasihan Bantul, if one of the Ummul Mukminat or Ummahatul Mukminin community members passed away, the other members did not only perform *salat jenazah* at the house of the family of the deceased, but they stayed for a while to recite surah Yāsīn and *doa* together. Sometimes, instead of reading *surah Yāsīn*, they recite *surah al-Mulk*. Bu Munjiyah explained the reason for choosing both *surahs*. According to her, *surah Yāsīn* is commonly read during the death ritual from a long time ago, so it is easy for the community to read this surah. Regarding the reason for choosing *surah al-Mulk*, she said that since a lot of people often come to the house of the family of the deceased person, she is worried that the Aisyiyah community may stay there too long and other visitors who want to perform *salat jenazah* for

the dead will have not enough space. *Surah al-Mulk* is shorter and has fewer verses than *surah Yāsīn*. It takes only a few minutes to recite *surah al-Mulk*. Most of the time, Bu Munjiyah prepares some copies of *surah al-Mulk*, so that the Aisyiyah community who join the recitation do not have to bring their *mushaf* and search the *surah* within the *mushaf*. She said, "it will be too long if they search the *surah* within the *mushaf*" (Bantul, 9th May 2018).

In the past, most of the inhabitants of the Kasihan sub-district carried out the death ritual on the third, seventh, fortieth, hundredth days, at one year, two years and thousandth days. The Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah communities in this sub-district then attempted to change this tradition. For instance, by reducing the intensity of the rituals, simplifying the rituals, and changing the content into Islamic practices. According to Bu Munjiyah (Bantul, 9th May 2018), nowadays, the death ritual is usually only held until three days after the burial. The reason for deciding three days ritual is based on a hadith narrated by al-Bukhārī that the Prophet Muhammad said: "It is not lawful for a Muslim woman who believes in Allah and the last day to mourn for more than three days, except for her husband, for whom she should mourn for four months and ten days" (1997, p. 166 vol.7). In addition, the restriction of the ritual for three days is intended to avoid excessive mourning and having a meal at the place of the family of the deceased. For three days after the burial Bu Munjiyah and the members of Ummul Mukminat or Ummahatul Mukminin communities come to the house of the family of the deceased person.

Bu Munjiyah told me that sending *doa* for the deceased is recommended. She shared this with me:

> For the dead people, we as Muslims are told by God to pray for them. The argument can be found in *surah Muhammad* verse 19 […] I always tell them (the Aisyiyah community) that there is the argument, "So [Prophet], bear in mind that there is no God but God and ask forgiveness for your sins and for the sins of believing men and women" […] There is also a *hadith* from Aisyah (the Prophet Muhammad's wife). One day the Prophet returned from preaching, he entered her room and put down his robe, but after a few times, He wore (the robe) again […] Aisyah then followed him quietly. It turned out that the Prophet went to the tomb of Baqi' (the first Islamic cemetery in Medina) and recited *doa* there. Aisyah went home and pretended to sleep, but the Prophet knew that she followed him. The prophet said, "I went to Baqi' because the Angel Gabriel called me to pray for the deceased people there" (Bantul, 9th May 2018).

During the three days ritual, the attendees recited *surah Yāsīn* together led by an *ustazah* –if the participants were female– or *ustaz* –if the participants were male and female. Bu Sari shared her experience regarding this death ritual. She conducted the three days death ritual when her husband passed away. She invited Ummul Mukminat community and some gentlemen who still have a family relationship with her and her husband. She asked the guests to recite *surah Yāsīn* and *doa* together in this ceremony led by an *ustaz* (Bantul, 9th May 2018).

Instead of reading *surah Yāsīn*, some members preferred to perform *khatmul Qur'an* in this death ritual. When *khatmul Qur'an* is performed, the entire Qur'an is recited by all

participants simultaneously. The participants are divided into several small groups. Each small group accomplish some *juzs* of the Qur'an. The ritual was continued by reading *doa* led by the *ustaz or ustazah* in a loud voice. All the guests in this ritual were served with drink and food. Bu Munjiyah (Bantul, 9th May 2018) told me that serving food by the host is common in the death ritual or other ceremonies. According to her, the community wants to practice the saying of the Prophet Muhammad narrated by al-Bukhārī and Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj which encourages his people to glorify their guests **"**He who believes in Allah and the Last Day let him not harm his neighbour; and he who believes in Allah and the Last Day let him show hospitality to his guest; and he who believes in Allah and the Last Day let him speak good or remain silent" (An-Nawawī, 2007, Chapter 39, hadith number 308).

Besides being served food and drink by the host, the guests are given *berkat* to be taken home. Unlike *berkat* in other events containing rice, side dishes, and snacks, in this three-day death ritual, the *berkat* consists of some essential raw foods, usually called *sembako* (s*embilan bahan pokok:* nine basic foods).[65] One of the Aisyiyah *ustazahs* in Kasihan*, Bu Suci,* shared her experience about the tradition of giving raw food *berkat*:

> In the past, when someone performed a *kenduri* in the death ritual, the host provided rice, *gudeg*,[66] and various meals like *tumpeng*. The provided foods were not even beneficial, so I said that the *kenduri* or *sedekah* could use raw food instead. At first, most people here did not agree with this idea. Therefore, I argued that the event was conducted in the evening after *isya* prayer. The food could be stale and just thrown away. So, the people here began to think of changing the *berkat* into raw food which contained rice ½ kg, sugar ¼ kg, a bag of tea, and two *sarimi* (one of the instant noodle brands in Indonesia). They were then safely stored for a month. Eventually, in a kenduri event, most of the community provides raw food (Bantul, 2nd July 2018).

6.4.2 Calendrical Rituals

Daily tadarus

One of the Qur'an recitation practices in daily religious programs was at the *tadarus al-Qur'an* event. The term *tadarus* originally comes from the Arabic language *tadārus,* which means studying, reading, maintaining, and discussing (al-maany.com). In the Indonesian context, the *tadarus al-Qur'an* event is often referred to as the activity of reciting, memorizing, and understanding the Qur'an in a group. Both the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul organized this gathering.

As noted above, in addition to recite the Qur'an individually, the Aisyiyah leaders (*pimpinan Aisyiyah*) in Jombang and Bantul organized a public *tadarus al-Qur'an* event. In

[65] In the Indonesian context, according to the decree of the minister of Industry and Trade number 115 in 1998, the foods and basic needs considered as *sembako* are: rice, sugar, cooking oil or butter, beef and chicken, egg, milk, corn, kerosene, and iodized salt.

[66] Traditional Javanese food from Yogyakarta made from young jack fruit, cooked for several hours with palm sugar and coconut milk.

Jombang, this event was held in most Muhammadiyah mosques after *subuh* prayer. Some members or sympathizers of Aisyiyah gathered in a *musalla* or mosque in every village. The Aisyiyah community residing near the Arroudhoh mosque, for example, came to the mosque to join the daily *tadarus al-Qur'an* program. Some of them arrived at the mosque earlier to perform congregational prayer *(salat jama'ah)*. Others went to the mosque after performing *subuh* prayer at their house. The participants took turns in reading the Qur'an. One person recited some verses, and the other participants listened to the recitation while paying attention to the *mushaf* they brought from home or owned by the *musalla* or mosque. An *ustazah* examined the recitation of the participants and corrected the reading based on *tajwid* rules. According to Bu Mulik, the chairperson of the Aisyiyah district executive in Jombang, a representative of Majelis Tabligh and an *ustazah* at Arroudhoh mosque, previously, the *tadarus al-Qur'an* program only focused on the Qur'an recitation. Recently, in addition to the Qur'an recitation, the translation and the meaning of the verses are also delivered by the *ustazah* (Jombang, 22nd March 2018).

Unlike the Aisyiyah executive in Jombang who organized the activity of public *tadarus al-Qur'an* after *subuh* prayer, the Aisyiyah community in Bantul, especially in the Kasihan sub-district, conducted the public *tadarus al-Qur'an* between *maghrib* and *isya* prayer. For instance, in Nur Ahmad Mosque, the Ummahatul Mukminin community who lived nearby came to the mosque. At some events which I participated in, they came around 6:00 p.m. to pray *maghrib* in the congregation. After finishing the prayer, some women gathered inside the special praying room for women. Around ten to fifteen participants join the program. The participants were divided into several groups, with the lead of an *ustazah* in each group. Some participants who did not pray in congregation came to the mosque in the middle of the *tadarus al-Qur'an* event and sat directly with one of the groups. The *ustazah* checked the recitation of the participants and corrected their reading based on *tajwid* rules without explaining the details of the rules.

Weekly pengajian

The communities of Aisyiyah in Jombang and Bantul also recited the Qur'an during weekly religious gatherings. There were some weekly religious gatherings attended by the Aisyiyah communities. In Jombang sub-district Jombang regency, many members and sympathizers of Aisyiyah went to Arroudhoh mosque to join a *pengajian* program once a week. The *pengajian* in this mosque was held every Thursday. Bu Mulik told me that this *pengajian* has been held on Thursdays since a long time ago. The Aisyiyah community in this mosque decided to carry out this program on Thursday because many of them attend various activities on the other days. The participants of the event did not only come from the surrounding Arroudhoh mosque, but they came from different villages in the Jombang sub-district. Sometimes, if there was an invitation, the *pengajian* event moved from Arroudhoh mosque to other mosques or *musallas* within the Jombang sub-district. For instance, the *pengajian* was sometimes held at Al-Muttaqin mosque in Pulo Lor village, at Al-Khouf mosque in Sambong village, at Al-Ashr mosque in Kepanjen village, and at Shofia Annur *musalla* in

Kaliwungu village (Jombang, 22nd March 2018). Besides organizing the *pengajian* in these *musallas* or mosques, when one of the Aisyiyah communities in Arroudhoh mosque held life cycle rituals such as *'aqīqah. khitan,* or *walimahan*, the *pengajian* was conducted at her house.

The main activity in this weekly *pengajian* was Qur'an recitation and study. In this gathering, an *ustaz* from Muhammadiyah or an *ustazah* from Aisyiyah provided exegetical commentary on the Qur'an. The *ustaz* or *ustazah* did not use a specific book. Instead, they compiled the material from different sources. Apart from exegetical commentary of the Qur'an, occasionally, other materials were also delivered. For instance, Islamic jurisprudence for women (*fikih wanita*) delivered by the leader of the regional executive of Aisyiyah in Jombang, *putusan tarjih* delivered by the representative of regional *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* in Jombang, social and health problems in society delivered by the representative of the Public Health Office (*Dinas Kesehatan*) Jombang regency. In each meeting, the participants recited the Qur'an led by an *ustazah* from Aisyiyah and learned *tajwid* rules before starting the event. During the event, before the *ustaz* or *ustazah* delivered the material – exegetical commentary on the Qur'an, *fikih wanita*, *putusan tarjih*, or social and health problems–, a representative of Aisyiyah or one of the Aisyiyah members also read some verses of the Qur'an with the translation.[67]



Figure 2: The Aisyiyah weekly pengajian at *Arroudhoh* mosque Jombang
(Jombang, 22nd February 2018)

Another weekly religious program attended by the Aisyiyah community in the Jombang sub-district was the Islamic studies program (*program kajian Islam*). This program was held in Assyafi'iyyah mosque Jombatan village every Friday evening. Bu Amri, the chairperson of the Aisyiyah regional executive in Jombang and a famous Aisyiyah *ustazah*

[67] See chapter One.

in this regency, taught the Aisyiyah community residing near this mosque. The study focused on the explanation of the Qur'an and hadith. Before Bu Amri delivered the material, one of the participants recited some verses of the Qur'an with their translation.

In the Kasihan sub-district Bantul regency, one of the weekly religious gatherings organized by the Aisyiyah communities was the Qur'an recitation and study event. During my fieldwork, Ummul Mukminat community gathered regularly at *musalla* Sabilal Muhtadin every Sunday evening from around 8:00 to 9:00 p.m. to carry out the event. Meanwhile, Ummahatul Mukminin community organize the program every Monday evening at the same time in Nur Ahmad Mosque or three other places. When I ask Bu Munjiyah as the chairperson and the *ustazah* of both communities about the reason for choosing these days, she said that Ummul Mukminat members agreed in choosing Sunday evening because, at this time, most of them can come to the event. The same reason goes for Ummahatul Mukminin community. The members of Ummahatul Mukminin community decided to hold the event on Monday evening because most of them are available at that time (Bantul, 9th May 2018).

In every meeting, an *ustazah* delivered exegetical commentary on the Qur'an. The material was taken from the translation book of Tafsir ibn Katsīr.[68] Also, the *ustazah* gave additional explanation from her knowledge outside the book. Most of the time, the *ustazah* explained one *ruku'* (verses on a common theme) in each meeting. Before the exegetical commentary of the Qur'an was given, the verses of the Qur'an which will be discussed were read together by the community led by the *ustazah* in a loud voice. According to Bu Munjiyah, the recitation is performed together so that the participants indirectly learn to read the Qur'an correctly and adequately based on *tajwid* rules without realizing it. At the beginning of the program, some members found difficulties in reading the Qur'an, so they read the Qur'an written in Indonesian. As time passed and the more, they read together and listened to each other, the better they could read the Qur'an. When the Qur'an recitation and study event coincided with an invitation (*diunduh*) of life cycle rituals such as fourth month pregnancy or death ritual, or other Aisyiyah events, the members of Ummahatul Mukminin and Ummul Mukminat communities attended the ritual or events and did not conduct the study event (Bantul, 9th May 2018).

Besides the interpretation of the Qur'an, among the Ummahatul Mukminin community, other materials were taught. The five *ustazahs* in this community delivered five different lessons. Bu Munjiyah gave lessons about Islamic history, Bu Suci explained some decisions and *fatwa*s of Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid. Other *ustazah*s taught *fikih*, Islamic ethics and Islamic theology. These lessons were delivered at the end of the study.

[68] The full name of ibn Katsīr is Abu al-Fida' Ismail ibn Umar ibn Katsir. Ibn Katsir wrote a famous Tafsir book named *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aḍīm*. This tafsir is regarded as one of the best *tafsīr bi al-ma'thūr* –the Qur'anic exegeses based upon the hadith of the Prophet, his companions and successors–. In writing the commentary of the Qur'an, Ibnu Katsir linked some hadiths and saying of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad to verses of the Qur'an. In Indonesia, the Tafsir book of Ibn Katsir is translated to Bahasa Indonesia and distributed by some publisher. The translation book of Tafsir Ibn Katsir book used by the Aisyiyah *ustazahs* namely Terjemah Singkat Tafsir Ibnu Katsir, translated by H. Salim Bahreisy and H. Said Bahreisy and published by PT Bina Ilmu Surabaya (Interview with Bu Munjiyah, Bantul, 9 May 2018).



Figure 3: Qur'an recitation and study event at Sabilal Muhtadin *musalla* Kasihan sub-district Bantul regency (Bantul, 5th May 2018)

Monthly pengajian

Among the Aisyiyah community in Jombang, a monthly *pengajian* was held in each branch at the sub-district level. Usually, members from the same sub-district would gather in a big mosque once a month. In the Jombang sub-district, the program was carried out on the third Sunday of every month. The Qur'an was always recited at the beginning of the program, whether by a representative of Aisyiyah or by all participants together. An *ustaz* from Muhammadiyah or an *ustazah* from Aisyiyah was invited to deliver a religious lecture.

Within the Aisyiyah community in Kasihan sub-district Bantul, a monthly religious program was held on the 20th every month. Some activities were done during the gathering such as a short religious lecture called 'seven minutes religious lecture' (*kuliah tujuh menit: kultum*), *tadarus al-Qur'an,* and social gathering. The gathering was started by a *kultum* which was delivered by an *ustaz* from Muhammadiyah or an *ustazah* from Aisyiyah regarding various themes in Islamic perspective. The event then continued by the recitation of the Qur'an together by the participants. After the recitation of the Qur'an was performed, the *ustaz* or *ustazah* explained the meaning of the recited verses. According to Bu Munjiyah, besides aiming to provide Islamic knowledge and strengthen the faith of the Aisyiyah members, the meeting aims to establish friendship between the members in one sub-district. She further said that usually, they hold *arisan* in the meeting (Bantul, 9th May 2018). *Arisan*

is a form of rotating savings. Each member pays a certain amount of money. The money is collected and given to one of the members in rotation.

Selapanan pengajian

Selapanan religious program was only held by the Aisyiyah communities in Kasihan Bantul. The *selapanan* religious program was held every thirty-five days based on the Javanese calendar.[69] Usually, this program was organized by the Aisyiyah community from one village. At Tirtonirmolo village for example, the *selapanan* religious program was held every Sunday *Kliwon*. The participants of this program were the Aisyiyah communities who resided in Tirtonirmolo village. There were twenty six mosques in this village, and the program was conducted from one mosque to another every thirty-five days on Sundays *Kliwon*. An *ustaz* from Muhammadiyah or an *ustazah* from Aisyiyah gave a religious lecture in this program. Before the *ustaz* or *ustazah* delivered the lecture, some verses of the Qur'an and their translation[70] were recited by a representative of Aisyiyah.

Islamic festival celebration

As noted in chapter Three, the Muslim calendar consists of twelve months based on the lunar calendar. They are Muharram, Safar, Rabiul awal, Rabiul akhir, Jumadilawal, Jumadilakhir, Rajab, Syaban, Ramadan, Syawal, Zulkaidah, Zulhijjah. In relation to this calendar, many Muslims in Indonesia celebrate Islamic festivals. The events are, for example, held in the Muharram month to celebrate the new Islamic year; in the month of Ramadan to celebrate the revelation of the Qur'an (Ar., *nuzūl al-Qur'an,* Ind., *nuzulul Qur'an*), in the Rabiul Awal month to commemorate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad; in the Rajab month to celebrate the occasion of *isra mikraj* (Ar., *isra' mi'rāj*) when God took the Prophet Muhammad on a journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and heaven; etc.

Most Muslims agree that certain rituals and celebrations are conducted during Islamic holidays such as the festival of breaking the fast (*idul fitri*) which is held in the 1st of Syawal month to mark the end of Ramadan or the festival of sacrifice (*idul adha*) which is conducted in the Zulhijjah month. Nevertheless, not all Muslims agree regarding celebrating other Islamic festivals such as the commemoration of the Prophet's birthday. A Saudi Arabia mufti for instance, warned against this celebration saying that it was considered as *bid'ah* and sinful (Arab news, 2015). An Egyptian mufti on the other hand allowed the celebration as a manifestation of Muslims' love for him (Dar Al-Ifta Al-Missriyyah, 2021).

Regarding this matter, Muhammadiyah, through Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid issued a *fatwa*. According to Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid, there is no argument in the Qur'an or hadith

[69] See chapter Three. According to Javanese syncretic beliefs, this cycle has an important meaning in determining when the activity should or should not be done. Among the Aisyiyah community in Bantul however, the *selapanan* religious program does not relate to this belief. Determining days such as Sunday *Kliwon* only aims to make it easier for the community to remember the time of the program.

[70] See chapter One.

which recommends or forbids holding such events. Therefore, Muhammadiyah argues that if the event is necessary to conduct within a Muslim community, it is allowed as long as the practice is Islamic. For instance, prohibited acts according to Islamic law and value such as *syirik* should be avoided (Suara Muhammadiyah, 2021a). The same is true for holding other *peringatan hari besar Islam.* Sundani, the representative of Special Dakwah Institute for the central board of Muhammadiyah, explained that *peringatan hari besar Islam* such as *isra mikraj* is not regarded as *bid'ah* because it is part of *muamalah*. In the view of the Muhammadiyah organization, everything contained in *muamalah* is permitted unless there is a prohibition (see chapter Four). There isn't, however, a particular ritual that should be performed during these celebrations except *pengajian* and other Islamic practices or beneficial activities such as discussion and book review (Afandi, 2021).

Idul Fitri and Idul Adha events

With regard to the *Idul Fitri* event, both the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul chanted *takbir* (Ar., *takbīr* meaning reciting the formula of *Allāhu akbar*) and gathered with other Muslims from the neighbourhood to perform *Idul Fitri* prayer.[71] Besides performing *idul fitri* prayer, the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul organized a special event namely s*yawalan* or *halal bi halal* on this occasion. *Syawalan* refers to an event conducted in the month of *Syawal*, while *halal bi halal* means permissible by permissible. In the Indonesian context, *halal bi halal* is asking forgiveness to each other by conducting an event where some people, usually from the same community or neighbourhood, gather in one place.

On this occasion, Aisyiyah leaders, members, sympathizers, and their families from the same sub-district gather in one place. Usually, the ceremony starts with a welcoming speech from the representative of the local Aisyiyah board. Some verses are read by a *qāri'* or *qāri'ah* and. Ar followed by a short religious lecture by an *ustaz* or *ustazah*. Surah Ali 'Imrān verse 133-136 are usually recited in the *syawalan* or *halal bi halal* event. The verses contain a command to seek for forgiveness from God: "Hurry towards your Lord's forgiveness and a Garden as wide as the heavens and earth prepared for the righteous, who give, both in prosperity and adversity, who restrain their anger and pardon people – God loves those who do good –, those who remember God and implore forgiveness for their sins if they do something shameful or wrong themselves – who forgives sins but God? – and who never knowingly persist in doing wrong?[...]". The main activity of this event is asking forgiveness from each other (*bermaaf maafan*). Thus, the participants shake their hands (*bersalaman*) with the other – male with male and female with female –. A short religious lecture is sometimes delivered. At the end of the event, some children, mostly from low-income families, are given money put in the envelope. Before leaving the place of the event, they have a meal together.

Bu Mulik explained the reason for conducting such an event within the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang. She said that the purpose of the *halal bi halal* ceremony is to make

[71] *Idul fitri* and *idul adha* prayers consist of two *raka'at* continued by a sermon (Ar., *khuṭbah*, Ind., *khotbah).*

it easier for the community to meet and ask forgiveness from each other without visiting every house of the members. Also, visiting the members' houses one by one will be dangerous as they ride motorcycle with their children (Jombang, 10th March 2018). As for conducting the *halal bi halal* or *syawalan* event within the community of Aisyiyah in Kasihan sub-district, Bu Munjiyah told me that *halal bi halal* is held in order for the members of the communities to meet and forgive each other. Also, this event is organized to remind the members of increasing the quality of piety after the Ramadan month through a short religious lecture (Bantul, 4th June 2018).

Like during *Idul Fitri* and *Idul Adha* day, the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul chant *takbir* when they gather to perform *Idul Adha* prayer (see footnote 17). In commemorating this event, the ritual of animal sacrifice (camel, goat or cow) is done. Usually, this ritual is done by the local Aisyiyah board in collaboration with the local Muhammadiyah board. The Asiyiyah members are in charge of distributing the meat of the sacrificed animals. The meat of the slaughtered animals is divided into three parts. One third for the people who supply the animal, one third for his/her relatives or neighbours, and one third for the poor and needy people. Unlike in the *Idul Fitri* occasion, in the *Idul Adha* event, the Asiyiyah communities in both places did not hold a particular gathering for *pengajian* or Qur'an recitation practices.

Other Islam holidays

Many of the Asiyiyah communities in Jombang did not organize particular gatherings on other Islam holiday occasions. Instead, they conducted social service in some of those Islamic festivals. For example, by visiting some villages within the regency of Jombang and giving donations to the poor people in the villages. Unlike the communities of Aisyiyah in Jombang, the communities of Aisyiyah in Kasihan Bantul celebrated almost all the Islamic festivals in relation with the lunar calendar. Sometimes, the celebration of Islamic festivals was held together with the regular religious program (monthly or *selapanan*). At another time, it was conducted separately. During the event, the Aisyiyah communities gathered at one mosque in the village. An *ustaz* or *ustazah* was invited to give a religious lecture. Before the religious lecture was delivered, some verses of the Qur'an were recited by a representative of Aisyiyah or by a *qāri'ah.*

The chosen verses of the Qur'an were recited during the Islamic festivals' events. The verses were chosen based on the theme of the event. For instance, *surah al-Isra'* verse 1, containing the story about the night travelling performed by the Prophet from Mecca to Jerusalem, was read in the *isra mikraj* festival "Glory to Him who made His servant travel by night from the sacred place of worship to the furthest place of worship, whose surroundings We have blessed, to show him some of Our signs: He alone is the All Hearing, the All Seeing". *Surah at-Taubah* verse 128 was recited during the celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday: "A Messenger has come to you from among yourselves. Your suffering distresses him: he is deeply concerned for you and full of kindness and mercy towards the believers."

One of the Islamic festivals I attended during my fieldwork was a *nuzulul Qur'an* event organized by the Ummul Mukminat community. This event was held in the last third of the Ramadan month. It was held together with the *khatmul Qur'an* ceremony in the Sabilal Muhtadin *musalla*. The event was not only attended by the Ummul Mukminat community, but Muslims, male and female, who join *tarawih* prayer in the *musalla* follow the ceremony. About thirty men, ten children and more than fifty women gathered inside and on the porch of the *musalla*.

At 7:30 p.m., the event began. There was something different about the *nuzulul Qur'an* celebration. The Master of Ceremony and the *qāri'* are not from the administrators of the *musalla* or Aisyiyah communities, but they were children aged ten to twelve years. After the MC started the event, particular Qur'anic verses explaining the Qur'an revelation were recited, followed by delivering a few remarks and a report on the Ramadan activities by the board of the *musalla.* Afterwards, a *khatmul Qur'an doa* was read by Bu Munjiyah in a loud voice as the official closure of the Ramadan activities.

The main agenda of the *nuzulul Qur'an* event was a sermon. An *ustaz* from the regency of Sleman Yogyakarta province was invited to deliver the lecture. On this occasion, the *ustaz* conveyed the historical story of the Qur'an revelation and how to apply the values of the Qur'an in everyday life. In the middle of the lecture, he gave some quizzes, especially to attract the attention of the children joining the ceremony. In return, the children who correctly answered the quiz were given a prize of money between Rp. 5000, - up to Rp. 20,000, -. The *ustaz* told the participants that he was originally from the Sunda region of West Java, but he had been residing in Yogyakarta for 25 years. Consequently, Javanese culture had become part of his everyday life. He then sang an Islamic song using Javanese language containing the message of *Walisongo* regarding the way Muslims should live in this world. After delivering the lecture for about one hour, he ended his lecture by reciting *doa*. At the end of the event, some members and sympathizers of Aisyiyah performed *salawat* and Islamic songs accompanied by tambourine (*rebana*) music. The songs were delivered in Javanese, Arabic and Indonesian (Bantul, 4th June 2018).

Some members shared their opinion with me related to conducting *perayaan hari besar Islam* events. Bu Iyam told me that, "celebrating Islamic New Year, welcoming Ramadan event, and other festivals are no problem. The purpose of those ceremonies is to remind us about historical events that occurred during the Islamic months. Besides, the big day of another religion is celebrated, so why don't we celebrate ours?" (Bantul, 24th April 2018). Another member, Bu Ali, told me, "the purpose of conducting such events is to spread Islamic teaching. For commemorating the Prophet Muhammad's birthday, even though he did not order, but we celebrate it to remember his struggle" (Bantul, 14th May 2018).

Kirim doa ritual

Sending prayer (*kirim doa*) ritual is held in the month of *Syaban*. This month is known by Javanese people as *Ruwah* month.[72] During this month, people usually perform a *selametan* of *kirim doa* to the spirits of the family members and the ancestors. Javanese people usually perform this ritual by visiting and cleaning the grave of their ancestors, praying for the ancestors, making particular foods and scattering flowers (*nyekar*). In the Kasihan sub-district, the tradition of sending prayer had been going on from time to time. Some of the Aisyiyah communities performed this ritual. However, the ritual was performed differently from what was done by the Javanese people. Among the Ummul Mukminat community, for example, if one or more members wanted to send their prayers to their deceased family, the community gathered in sabilal muhtadin *musalla.* Sometimes, the host of the event invited the community to her house. The ritual was conducted one week or two weeks before the Ramadan month. On this occasion, the members of the community recited *surah Yāsīn* together led by an *ustazah*, continued by reciting *doa*. Afterwards, a short religious lecture was given by the *ustazah* containing some advice about remembering death and an explanation about how to send *doa* for the dead family. No particular foods were prepared for this event. Instead, the host provided drinks, usually hot tea and common meal such as rice with side dishes, noodles, meatballs or other meals.

Through the "*Suara Muhammadiyah*" website (Suara Muhammadiyah, 2020), the *Majelis Tarjih and Tajdid* issued a *fatwa* related to sending *doa* ritual. The Muhammadiyah organization viewed that a Muslim's salvation depends on his/her faith and good deeds he/she does while living in this world. Other practices or *doa* by performing particular ritual and on certain days do not affect his 'safety' in the afterlife. The Muhammadiyah provided a few arguments from the Qur'anic verses and hadiths. For instance, *surah al-An'ām* verse 164, *surah an-Najm* verses 38-39, surah al-'Asr verses 1-3, and a hadith narrated by Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj from Abu Hurairah that the Prophet said: "When a person dies, his deeds come to an end except for three things: ceaseless charity (*ṣadaqah jāriyah*); a knowledge which is beneficial, or a virtuous descendant who prays for him (for the deceased)" (Chapter 241, hadith number 8).

In the opinion of Bu Munjiyah, however, the ritual of sending *doa* can be practised as long as it contains Islamic practices. Here, Bu Munjiyah attempted to implement the idea of Muhammadiyah regarding *dakwah kultural* through adjusting the local tradition of *nyadran* to the *kirim doa* ritual. When I asked Bu Munjiyah about the purpose of the ceremony, she gave me this explanation:

[72] As explained in chapter Three, in the Javanese calendar, one year consist of twelve months. They are: *Sura, Sapar, Mulud, Bakda Mulud, Jumadilawal, Jumadilakir, Rejeb, Ruwah, Pasa, Sawal, Sela*, and *Besar*. *Ruwah* is the 8th month of the Javanese calendar. The word *ruwah* comes from the word *arwah* means spirit. In the ruwah month, Javanese people conduct a *selametan* to commemorate their ancestor. The *selametan* with regard to the *ruwah* month is called *ruwahan* or *nyadran*.

> Initially, the ritual of *kirim doa* in the month of Syaban is originally taken from Javanese culture called *nyadran* or *ruwahan.* During *nyadran* or *ruwahan* ritual, usually people visit the tombs of their ancestors and prepare specific foods. The Aisyiyah organization with its *dakwah kultural* program attempts to adjust this tradition with *kirim doa* ritual in which some Islamic practices are performed. For example, reciting the Qur'an, reading *doa* and giving *sedekah*. These practices are based on a hadith narrated by Muslim (ibn al-Ḥajjāj) "When a man dies, his deeds come to an end except for three things: ceaseless charity; a knowledge which is beneficial, or a virtuous descendant who prays for him (for the deceased)" (Bantul, 6th May 2018).

Bu Munjiyah emphasized further that a *doa* sent by a Muslim for other Muslims may be beneficial. She grounded her justification in a *hadith* that the Prophet Muhammad went to the Islamic cemetery Baqi' in Medina to send *doa* for the deceased companions as explained above (see section death ritual). Nevertheless, as mentioned in the hadith quoted by Bu Munjiyah, "a virtuous descendant who prays for him", the *doa* sent by the descendants of the deceased Muslim is more important than other Muslims' *doa*. Therefore, besides performing the ritual of *kirim doa* communally, Bu Munjiyah reminded the community regarding the importance of the descendants' prayer for the spirit of their deceased family. The individual ritual can be done by visiting the graves of the family or by sending *doa* from their house. If the community desires to visit the tomb of their deceased family, some rules should be followed. For instance, saying a greeting when entering the grave, cleaning the graves where their families are buried, praying for the deceased family while facing the direction of Mecca (Ar., *qiblah*, Ind., *kiblat*) asking for the forgiveness of God for them, and hoping may God gives his mercy to them in their graves. Meanwhile, sending *doa* from their house can be done anytime, in particular after daily *salat*.

Tadarus Ramadan

Ramadan is the ninth month of the Islamic calendar and is observed by Muslims worldwide as the month of fasting. It begins and ends with the appearance of the new moon. Besides as fasting month, Ramadan is also known as the month of the Qur'an. The verse of the Qur'an *surah al-Baqarah* 185 states that God revealed the Qur'an to his prophet Muhammad for the first time in the month of Ramadan. "It was in the month of Ramadan that the Qur'an was revealed as guidance for mankind, clear messages giving guidance and distinguishing between right and wrong. So, anyone of you who is present that month should fast, and anyone who is ill or on a journey should make up for the lost days by fasting on other days later. God want ease for you, not a hardship. He wants you to complete the prescribed period and to glorify Him for having guided you so that you may be thankful".

In addition to *surah al-Baqarah* verse 185 above, some prophetic traditions also explain that the revelation of the Qur'an was in the month of Ramadan. For example, a hadith narrated by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal from Watsīla ibn al-Asqa' that the Prophet Muhammad said: "the scriptures of Abraham were revealed on the first night of Ramadan. The Torah was

revealed after six nights of Ramadan had passed. The Qur'an was revealed after twenty-four nights of Ramadan had passed" (Musnad Ahmad, hadith number 16536)

During the month of Ramadan, lessons and activities are performed by Muslims in various places such as reading the Qur'an, reciting *zikir* and seeking closeness to God. During the last ten days of Ramadan, many Muslims stay at mosques to perform *iktikaf* (Ar., *i'tikāf*, meaning residing in the mosque for religious acts) as the Prophet used to carry out. During *iktikaf*, they spend most of their time in religious acts especially praying and reading the Qur'an. Among the communities of Aisyiyah in Jombang as well as in the communities of Aisyiyah in Bantul, the communal Qur'an recitation was performed every day from the first day until the twentieth day of Ramadan.

Tadarus ritual among the Aisyiyah community in the Jombang sub-district

During Ramadan, the Aisyiyah community in Jombang organized a *tadarus* event. The *tadarus* event was performed routinely in all branches. One of the places where this activity was held was in the *musalla* of al-Muttaqin, Jombang. In the month of Ramadan 2018, I participated a *tadarus* Ramadan event in this *musalla.* The *musalla* of al-Muttaqin was located in the centre of the residential compound not far from the Arroudhoh mosque. The *tadarus* ritual took place inside the women praying room and at the veranda of the *musalla.* The women praying room was not too spacious, so some members had to sit outside the room.

According to Bu Laily, the *tadarus* activity is held every day during Ramadan month. It goes on until the twentieth day of Ramadan. After that date, usually, people are busy performing *iktikaf.* That day, the activity started at 5:00 a.m. after *subuh* prayer. Many Aisyiyah members performed this prayer in the congregation at the *musalla*. Others went to *musalla* after performing the prayer at their house. The participants in the *tadarus* event were divided into two groups based on their ability in reading the Qur'an. The first was the beginner group which consisted of members who were yet to read the Qur'an by themselves. An *ustazah* led the recitation slowly, followed by the participants.

The second was the advanced group which consisted of those who were able toread the Qur'an by themselves and in a fluent manner. The participants who joined this group took turns in reciting the Qur'an. As one member read aloud, the other members listened carefully. Some sub-district leaders also attended the event. An *ustazah* from Aisyiyah paid attention to each person's recitation more closely. Occasionally, she corrected the recitation. Other members who came later immediately joined the event, listened to the other members reading while waiting for their turn to read the Qur'an. At around 7:00 a.m., the *tadarus* activity ended. At the end of the event, the *ustazah* gave an explanation about *tajwid* rules related to the recited verses (Jombang, 28th May 2018).



Figure 4: The Aisyiyah community surrounding al-Muttaqin *musalla* organized a *tadarus* during Ramadan (Jombang, 28th May 2018)

Tadarus event among the Aisyiyah community in the Kasihan sub-district

During the month of Ramadan, most mosques and *musallas* conduct *tarawih* prayers in the congregation. After the call to *isya* prayer, people gather in the mosques or *musallas* to perform *isya* and *tarawih* prayers. Some traders owning kiosks leave their wares temporarily to participate in performing the prayers. Most mosque and *musalla* boards lay places for the male congregation behind the leader of prayer (Ar. *imām,* Ind., *imam*). For the female congregation, the place is set behind the male congregation, separated by a barrier. Other mosque boards set a male payer room side by side with the female prayer room separated by a barrier.

After *isya* prayer has been performed, often, the congregation do not directly perform *tarawih* prayers. During the month of Ramadan, many boards of mosques and *musallas* organize a *kultum*. The *kultum* is delivered by an *ustaz* for approximately seven to fifteen minutes. After the *ustaz* finishes his lecture, the *imam* starts the *tarawih* prayer. The procedure of the prayer and the amount of *rakaat* in the prayer differ from one mosque and *musalla* to another. There are various opinions of scholars about the procedure of *tarawih* prayer and its *rakaat*. The Muhammadiyah organization chooses the *rakaat* number of the *tarawih* prayer as many as eight *rakaats*. In comparison, the Nahdlatul Ulama organization chooses to perform *tarawih* prayer as many as twenty *rakaats*.

The t*adarus* ritual among the Ummul Mukminat and Ummahatul Mukminin communities in the Kasihan sub-district was held at Sabilal Muhtadin *musalla* and Nur Ahmad Mosque after performing *tarawih* prayer. Before the *tadarus* was started, the communities took a break by having a conversation with other members at the veranda of the *musalla* or mosque. Compared to the recitation of the Qur'an and the regular religious gathering they usually organize, not many were joining this activity. According to Bu Munjiyah, some members join *tadarus* elsewhere or choose to do it in their homes because the time is already quite late (the *tadarus* was held after *tarawih* prayer at about 9:00 p.m.) (Bantul, 15th May 2018). Once, I participated in a *tadarus Ramadan* event at the *musalla* of Sabilal Muhtadin. After performing tarawih prayer, some of the Ummul Mukminat communities stayed at the *musalla*. They were resting for a while, having a drink and small talk with the other community members. After fifteen minutes of break, Bu Munjiyah started the event by reciting "*Bismillāhirraḥmānirraḥīm*". The members who joined the *tadarus* ritual were divided into small groups of two to three members. Each group was tasked with completing one *juz* of the Qur'an, so one member recited one-third or half *juz*. About half an hour to forty-five minutes, the *tadarus* had been completed. Bu Munjiyah ended the ritual and reminded the participants to continue reading the Qur'an the next day (Bantul, 19th May 2018). Bu Munjiyah told me that usually, during the Ramadan month, the community can complete three to five *juzs* in a day, depending on the number of members present. After approximately one week, they thoroughly read thirty *juzs*. Bu Munjiyah or other *ustazahs* then recite *khatmul Qur'an* prayer hoping that what they read will be accepted by God and they will get a reward. Almost in every year, this ritual is performed until ten days before the end of Ramadan month (Bantul, 19th May 2018)**.**

6.4.3 Occasional Rituals

Healing ritual

According to Islamic belief, as the word of God, the Qur'an has many important benefits. For example, it is used for healing diseases and treating mental health. Some Muslims believe that the Qur'an has magical powers. Some verses of the Qur'an are recited over the body of the sick person. Among Somali Muslims, for example, Qur'an recitation is commonly heard in Somali hospitals. Usually, the family of the patient recites the Qur'an beside the sick person. At another time, the family of the patient invites a group of religious figures to read the Qur'an (Ahmed, 1988, pp. 241–242)

Many of the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul went to a doctor, the community health centre (Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat, Puskesmas), or the hospital to get a hospital treatment and medication when they were sick. Even though they received treatment and medication, some members tried to integrate medical therapy with the recitation of the Qur'an. Among the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang, this practice was done individually. For example, Bu Salmah, a 47-year-old member of Aisyiyah from Jombang with Senior high

school educational background, read three Qul *surah*s,[73] *ayat kursi*,[74] the end of *surah al-Baqarah* and some verses of *surah Ali-Imran* to treat herself when she was not feeling well (Jombang, 17th August 2018). As well as Bu Salmah, Bu Nunuk also read three *Qul surahs*, *ayat kursi*, and the end of *surah al-Baqarah* to heal herself (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

Unlike the Aisyiyah community in Jombang, who read the Qur'an for medication individually, some of the Aisyiyah communities in Bantul recited the Qur'an communally during healing rituals in addition to reciting it individually. Bu Ali, a member of Aisyiyah in Bantul, shared her experience with me. When someone was sick, she and other members of the Ummul Mukminat community were invited by the family of the sick person to recite the Qur'an. Once, there was an old woman who had been sick for a long time. Then, they came to the house of the old women and recited *surah Yāsīn* together (Bantul, 13th May 2018). A similar story was told by Bu Munjiyah:

> One day when I taught the Qur'an at one of the villages in the Kasihan sub-district, someone was seriously ill. He was the husband of Bu Syarofa, one of the Ummul Mukminat's members. Doctors at the hospital had given up treating him, and the patient was told to be taken home. She then invited the members of the community to read the Qur'an. We went to her house and recited *surah Yāsīn* several times. Thank God, he recovered. Besides Bu Syarofa's husband, one of our members, Bu Tuti was also sick for a long time and was told by her doctor that there was no hope to recover. We recited *doa* and read *Yāsīn* together for her. I led the prayer. After that, she was gradually healed (Bantul, 9th May 2018).

Tasyakuran

Tasyakuran is kind of a thanksgiving ceremony. Many, including some of the Aisyiyah community in the Kasihan sub-district, regard *selametan* and *tasyakuran* as the same. Some of them, however, said that *tasyakuran* is specifically conducted for a gratitude ceremony. The intention of *tasyakuran* is usually to ask or thank God for the success of the family. The *tasyakuran* was held when the relatives, especially the community members' children, were going to enter a university or seek a job. At another time, it was held to celebrate being accepted in a university or getting a job at a company or an institution. In the *tasyakuran* event, the Aisyiyah community from the same study group or neighbourhood was invited to the house of the member who held the event to recite the Qur'an and *doa* for the success of the study or job. Bu Munjiyah said that the *surah* of the Qur'an recited in this event depends on the request of the host. Most of the time, the community reads *surah ar-Raḥmān*. At another time, they recite surah *al-Mulk*. Some foods and drinks were served at the event. Most of the time, no *berkat* was given after the ceremony (Bantul, 9th May 2018).

---

[73] Three Qul means *surah* an-Nas, *surah* al-Falaq and *surah* al-Ikhlas. The first verse of the three surahs are started with Qul, so she called them with three Qul.

[74] The throne verse is the 255th verse of surah Al-Baqarah. This verse is believed by Muslim to give protection. When it is read in the morning, the reciter will be protected until the evening, and when it is read in the evening, the reciter will be protected until the morning of the next day.

Occupying a new house or opening a new store

Another ritual in which the Qur'an is recited among the Aisyiyah community in the Kasihan sub-district is when a member is going to start living in a new house or open a new shop. The activity and the intention of this ritual are like those in the *tasyakuran* ceremony. Before living in a new house or opening a new shop, the host of the ceremony invites the other members of the community to express her gratitude to God for having a new house or opening a new shop. Apart from this, she asks the community to read the Qur'an and *doa* in order to get God's blessing: a happy life for the house owner and lots of benefits for the owner of the stall. So, the house owner will have a happy life, and the owner of the stall will get lots of benefits.

Once, Bu Tuti, one of the Ummul Mukminat members, performed the ritual of opening a new stall for her child. She told me how the event went:

> My child opened a stall here. We invited the Ummul Mukminat members to perform the Qur'an recitation. The intention was to ask for Allah's blessing. We hope that the stall will have many buyers. We prayed to God for the ease of running the stall, and *Alhamdulillah*, the shop ran well (Bantul, 9th May 2018).

6.5 The Qur'anic Recitation Practices Among the Muslimat NU Communities

Reading the Qur'an, in any event, has become a tradition of the Muslimat NU community since the establishment of the organization. The Qur'an is often recited communally in several public gatherings such as the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals. Also, reciting the Qur'an is considered one of the most important devotional acts in these events (see chapter Five). On these occasions, all Qur'anic verses or particular *surah*s and verses are recited. In addition, among the NU communities, *tahlilan* – consisting of a compilation of several Qur'anic *surahs* or verses and *zikir* – and *yasinan* (reading *surah Yāsīn* together) are often performed in the above occasions.

The term *tahlilan* comes from the Arabic word *hallala āuhallilu tahlīlan*. *Tahlīl* means "utterance of the formula *lā ilāha ilallāh*" (Wehr, 1976, p. 1030). Indonesian Muslims use the term *tahlilan* for the ritual in which some Qur'anic *surahs* or verses and some phrases of *zikir* and *doa* are read loudly (Anies, 2009, p. 2; Sholikhin, 2010, p. 409). The *tahlilan* can be performed individually or communally (Ramli, 2010, p. 58). According to Anies (2009), this practice is known as *tahlilan* because of two reasons. First, although the participants recite different kinds of Arabic phrases for *zikir*, the phrase *lā Ilāha Illallāh* (there is no God but Allah) is mostly recited in the *tahlilan* performance. Second, the phrase *lā Ilāha Illallāh* is believed by Muslims as the most important *zikir*. This belief based on a hadith that the Prophet Muhammad said "The best remembrance is *lā Ilāha Illallāh* (there is none worthy of worship except Allah) and the best supplication is *alḥamdulillāh* (all praise is due to Allah)" (At-Tirmiżī, 2007).

According to Burhan, Asmiraty (2019, p. 5350), Khozin (2013, p. v) and Farhan (2008, p. 89), the practice of *tahlilan* is the result of an acculturation process between local Javanese customs and Islam. In the past, after someone passed away, people gathered at the house of the family of the deceased for drinking alcohol and gambling. This tradition then changed into the practice of *tahlilan* by performing *zikir* and reading some verses of the Qur'an. The practice of *tahlilan* is often associated with the death ceremony (Anies, 2009; Burhan & Asmiraty, 2019; Geertz, 1976; Koentjaraningrat, 1985; Retsikas, 2012; Sholikhin, 2010). Recently, however, many Muslim communities in Indonesia do not only perform *tahlilan* after death, but it is also done on different kinds of life cycle occasions such as birth, circumcision, marriage; on some calendrical occasions; and in other events such as moving to a new house event, *arisan* event, pilgrimage to the tomb of *kyai*s and saints such as *Walisongo* (see chapter Four), and others (Farhan, 2008, p. 93; Fattah, 2012, p. 276). Likewise, among the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul, the practice of *tahlilan* is done in various events such as public religious lectures, organizational meetings, in the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals.

Usually, a *tahlilan* performance is led by a *kyai* when the participants are men and women, *bu Nyai* or a representative of Muslimat NU when the participants are mostly women. The Qur'anic verses and *zikir* are read together in a loud voice. The *tahlilan* performance begins with the reading of *surah al-Fātiḥah* intended to send the merit (*pahala*) of the recitation to the ancestors of the host in particular (if the *tahlilan* is performed during a ritual which is held by one of the Muslimat NU members), and the participants in general (if the *tahlilan* is performed during a public gathering which is organized by the Muslimat NU boards).

The recitation of *surah al-Fātiḥah* at the beginning of the *tahlilan* performance is called *ḥaḍrah* (reading *ilā ḥaḍrati,* meaning 'to the honourable'). There are several names mentioned in this part. For example, the participants read: honourable Prophet Muhammad, his household (Ar. *Ahl-al bait*, Ind., *ahlulbait*) and his companions; honourable the deceased Muslims, teachers, ancestors, in particular the families of the participants. According to Anies (2009, p. 109), *surah al-Fātiḥah* is chosen as the intercession so that the devotional acts performed by the participants in this event can be accepted by God and the prayers read at the end of the ritual will be fulfilled. This practice is based on their belief in the benefit of *surah al-Fātiḥah*, as stated in a hadith that "(reading) *surah al-Fatihah* can achieve your goal".[75]

After reading *ḥaḍrah*, the *tahlilan* performance is continued with the recitation of some *surah*s such as *surah al-Ikhlāṣ, surah al-Falaq, surah an-Nās, and surah al-Fātiḥah*. Apart from these *surah*s, the participants also read *surah al-Baqarah* from the first verse to

[75] It has been said that this hadith is narrated by al-Baihaqī in his book *Al-Jāmi' Li Sya'b al- Īmān.* However, some scholars of hadith consider this hadith as a fabricated hadith (*hadith mauḍu'*). For instance, al-Sakhawī said that what is written in the book of al-Baihaqī is a different hadith with different sentence about the virtue of *surah* al-Fātiḥah (as-Sakhawī, 1985, p. 477). Al-Harawī also stated that there is no accepted hadith with the mentioned sentence (al-Harawī, 1994, p. 127). Although this hadith is considered as a fabricated hadith, other accepted hadiths with similar meaning are found in some canonical books.

the fifth verse; read *surah al-Baqarah* verse 163,[76] and verse 255, known as the throne verses;[77] and read the last three verses of *surah al-Baqarah*, they are verse 284, 285, and 286.[78] The participants then read *tarḥīm* (*irḥamnā yā arḥamar rāḥimīn* meaning 'please have mercy upon us oh most merciful out all of those who provide mercy') continued with reading *surah* Hūd verse 73[79] and *surah* al-Aḥzāb verse 33.[80] The next activity is reading *salawat*, and particular *zikir* such as *tasbīḥ* (saying s*ubḥānallāh* meaning 'God is perfect'), *taḥmīd* (saying *alḥamdulillāh* meaning 'praise be to God') and *istighfār* (saying *astaghfirullāh al-'aẓīm* meaning 'I seek forgiveness to Allah'). Finally, the *tahlilan* performance ends with the recitation of *surah al-Fātiḥah* and *doa*.

Usually, before or after a *tahlilan* is performed, the participants conduct *yasinan*. *Yasinan* means the practice of reading *surah Yāsīn*, mostly in a group. The name of *yasinan* refers to the 36th *surah* of the Qur'an. *Surah Yāsīn* is one of the most popular *surahs* among Indonesian Muslims, in particular among the traditionalist group such as the Nahdlatul Ulama organization. At times during the period of my research, I found out that almost all Muslimat NU members I interviewed had the habit of reading *surah Yāsīn*, either individually or communally.

The selection of *surah Yāsīn* is based on their beliefs regarding the virtues of reading this *surah*. Bu Haulah, a member of Muslimat NU from Jombang, read this *surah* consistently after *subuh* and *maghrib* prayer because she believed that *surah Yāsīn* was the heart of the Qur'an. She told me that whoever reads *surah Yāsīn*, his or her sins will be forgiven (Jombang, 17th August 2018). The other member from Jombang, Bu Lilis also read surah *Yāsīn* regularly. She even read this *surah* while walking if she was busy. When she was a student at a *pesantren*, her *kyai* told her to read *surah Yāsīn* because of the reward she would get (Jombang, 9th March 2018). Most of the Muslimat NU members from Bantul such as Bu Atik (Bantul, 8th July 2018), Bu Nur (8th May 2018), and Bu Wiwi (Bantul, 3rd June 2018), also recited *surah Yāsīn* regularly, alone or in a group.

---

[76] "Your God is the one God: there is no god except Him, the Lord of Mercy, the Giver of Mercy"

[77] "God: there is no god but Him, the Ever Living, the Ever Watchful Neither slumber nor sleep overtakes Him. All that is in the heavens and in the earth belongs to Him. Who is there that can intercede with Him except by His leave? He knows what is before them and what is behind them, but they do not comprehend any of His knowledge except what He wills. His throne extends over the heavens and the earth; it does not weary Him to preserve them both. He is the Highest, the Tremendous."

[78] "Whatever is in the heavens and in the earth belongs to God and, whether you reveal or conceal your thoughts, God will call you to account for them. He will forgive whoever He will and punish whoever He will: He has power over all things; The Messenger believes in what has been sent down to him from his Lord, as do the faithful. They all believe in God, His angels, His scriptures, and His messengers. 'We make no distinction between any of His messengers,' they say, 'We hear and obey. Grant us Your forgiveness, our Lord. To You we all return!'; God does not burden any soul with more than it can bear: each gain whatever good it has done, and suffers its bad—'Lord, do not take us to task if we forget or make mistakes. Lord do not burden us as You burdened those before us. Lord do not burden us with more than we have strength to bear. Pardon us, forgive us, and have mercy on us. You are our Protector, so help us against the disbelievers."

[79] "They said, 'Are you astonished at what God ordains?' The grace of God and His blessings be upon you, people of this house! For He is worthy of all praise and glory."

[80] "Stay at home, and do not flaunt your finery as they used to in the pagan past; keep up the prayer, give the prescribed alms, and obey God and His Messenger. God wishes to keep uncleanness away from you, people of the [Prophet's] House, and to purify you thoroughly."

According to Fattah (2012), one of the Nahdlatul Ulama religious figures, the Nahdlatul Ulama community, chooses to read *surah Yāsīn* in particular, and maintain the tradition of *yasinan* because of the virtues of reading this *surah* as mentioned in several hadiths. For instance, a hadith narrated by an-Nasā'ī "Surah *Yāsīn* is the heart of the Qur'an. No one reads it intending thereby Allah and the next abode except that Allah forgives them. Recite it for your deceased ones" (An-Nasā'ī, 1991, p. 265).

As well as the *tahlilan* performance, which is often associated with the death rituals, *yasinan* is also mostly performed with regard to sending prayers to the deceased family. Retsikas (2012, pp. 111–112) differentiates between *tahlilan* and *yasinan.* He states that the *tahlilan* is performed on the first, third or seventh, forty-fourth and the hundredth day after death. While the *yasinan* gathering is conducted weekly or bi-weekly to pray for the deceased family. However, in some Muslim communities in Indonesia, in particular, among the Nahdlatul Ulama and Muslimat NU communities, *tahlilan* is mostly conducted with *yasinan* (Fattah, 2008). The Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul often organize a gathering in which *surah Yāsīn* is read before or after the *tahlilan*.

6.5.1 Life Cycle Rituals

Third or fourth and seventh months pregnancy rituals

The ritual of a third or fourth month pregnancy is one of the most significant rites during pregnancy among the community of Muslimat NU both in Jombang and Bantul. The ritual is known as *neloni* or *mapati*. The word *neloni* comes from Javanese language *telu* means three, while the word *mapati* is from the Javanese word *papat* means four. Some people call this ritual *ngapati* from *papat,* meaning four or *ngupati* from the Javanese word *kupat*.[81] This ritual is held in the third or fourth month pregnancy. The reason for choosing the period of pregnancy is based on some Prophetic traditions that around this time, an angel is sent by God to blow the soul into the foetus and is commanded to write down four matters: his sustenance, his life, his deeds, his happiness or sadness as already explained earlier in this chapter. Therefore, the prospective mother and her family want to pray in order to seek God's blessing for the unborn baby by inviting people to perform devotional acts, read prayers communally, and give *sedekah*.

This ritual is not practiced by the *abangan* or *agami Jawi* community (see chapter Three). Instead, it is performed by *santri* Muslims, in particular among the traditionalist group such as the Nahdlatul Ulama community. Even among the traditionalist group, this ritual is considered a recent phenomenon compared to another kind of pregnancy ritual such as *mitoni* which has been practised by Javanese people for a long time. Some members told me about this matter. Bu Lina said, "In the past, pregnant mothers only performed the seventh month pregnancy ritual. Nowadays, there is a fourth month pregnancy ritual. It is said that at that age, the soul is blown to the foetus" (Jombang, 9th March 2018). Another member, Bu

[81] *Kupat* is a traditional food made of rice wrapped inside a diamond shaped of coconut leaves. This food is usually provided during the fourth month pregnancy ritual and on the occasion of *Idul fitri*.

Tika, told me, "In the past, it (the pregnancy ritual) was conducted in the seven-month-old pregnancy, but recently, it is performed in the fourth month pregnancy as well" (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

The structure of this ritual is more or less the same in Jombang and Bantul. The guests were mostly family members, the Muslimat NU members or neighbours. By inviting people to this ritual, the host wishes that the *doa* read by a more significant number of people at the end of the ritual will be easily answered by God (Y. Muttaqin, 2018a). Among the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul, this ritual was mostly held in the evening. It began with the recitation of *surah al-Fātiḥah*. Then, the host or her representative delivered a welcoming speech and her intention to pray for the unborn child. Some *surah*s of the Qur'an were recited together before one of the attendees, a *nyai* or Muslimat NU representative, pronounced the prayer at the end of the ritual. Subsequently, the host served food and drink for the guests. When the guests were leaving the host's place, they were given *berkat* containing rice and side dishes.[82]

In the fourth month pregnancy ritual, almost all members of Muslimat NU in Jombang and Bantul I interviewed recited *surah Yūsuf* and *Maryam* intended to have an attractive baby boy with a good character like Prophet Yusuf or a beautiful and pious baby girl like Maryam, the mother of Prophet Isa. In addition to *surah Yūsuf* and *Maryam*, some members recited other *surahs* and *zikir*. Bu Haulah, a member from Jombang, for example, told me, when she was pregnant, she read *surah* Luqmān and *surah* Muḥammad in addition to reciting *surah Yūsuf* and *Maryam* (Jombang, 17th August 2018). Bu Atik, a member of Muslimat NU from Bantul said that when she was invited to a pregnancy ritual, she and other Muslimat NU members recited *surah Luqmān*, *surah Yūsuf* and *Maryam*. She said that by reciting *surah Luqmān*, the host hoped that the child would become a pious person as narrated in the Qur'an *surah Luqmān* (Bantul, 8th July 2018).

Another pregnancy ritual practised by the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul is *mitoni*. The majority of the Nahdlatul Ulama scholars view that the practice of *mitoni* is based on the Qur'an *surah al-A'rāf* verse 189 "It is He who created you all from one soul, and from it made its mate so that he might find comfort in her: when one [of them] lies with his wife, and she conceives a light burden, going about freely, then grows heavy, they both pray to God, their Lord, 'If You give us a good child we shall certainly be grateful'". This verse tells a story about Prophet Adam and his wife. When his wife was pregnant and the pregnancy was getting heavier, Prophet Adam and his wife prayed to God asking a good child. Thus, the majority of the Nahdlatul Ulama scholars justify the practice of communal prayer in the last months of pregnancy. They choose seventh month pregnancy because at this stage the growth process of the foetus is nearly complete (Y. Muttaqin, 2018a).

In Javanese culture, the ritual of *mitoni* or *tingkeban* is usually held when the prospective mother is pregnant with her first child. The ritual is held at the house of the prospective mother and father or their parents' house. The family members and neighbours

[82] *Berkat* given in the pregnancy ritual is intended to express the host's gratitude toward the guests who come to his/her house, perform devotional acts and prayer for the prospective mother and unborn child. In some places, *berkat* is considered as a witness that the guests are away from their house to attend the pregnancy ritual (Y. Muttaqin, 2018a).

residing in one compound are invited (Adriana, 2012, p. 244). In this ritual, some foods are provided (see chapter Three). The foods prepared in this event are symbolic and believed to have different meanings and purposes. For example, seven *tumpeng* means asking safeguard at the seventh month pregnancy stage. Porridge such as *jenang procot* and *polo pendhem* symbolize easy delivery. Meanwhile, *rujak uni* is a wish for the best life for both prospective mother and child (Austiyana, 2004; Baehaqie, 2017).

Some Muslimat NU members in Jombang and Bantul performed this ritual during the pregnancy of their first child. Some of them prepared particular foods as well. Bu Lina, a member of Muslimat NU from Jombang, for instance, said, "I held a *tingkeban* when I was pregnant with my first child. For the next children, I only organize *bancaan* (thanksgiving) […] In the *tingkeban* event, I make *rujak*" (Jombang, 9th May 2018). Bu Irna, a member of Muslimat NU from Jombang, also said that in Jombang, some foods are usually provided during *mitoni* ritual like *rujak* and *polo pendhem* (Jombang, 22nd February 2018). Nevertheless, some of my participants also held the *mitoni* ritual every pregnancy.

In this seventh month pregnancy ritual, the Muslimat NU members in Jombang and Bantul recited *surah Yūsuf* and *Maryam* as they read in the fourth month pregnancy event. Some members also recited *surah* Muhammad and *surah Luqmān* in addition to reading *surah Yūsuf* and *Maryam*. A few members chose to perform *khatmul Qur'an* and read the three *surah*s in this ritual. Bu Nafisa told me:

> The Muslimat NU members in this village usually recite *surah Yūsuf, surah Maryam* and *surah Muhammad* when their pregnancy reaches six almost seven months old. They read all Qur'an. It is (the recitation of the Qur'an) started in the morning. When the recitation of all Qur'an is finished, the three *surahs* (*surah Yūsuf, surah Maryam,* and *surah Muhammad*) are repeated. Usually, it is read by three people. One of them recites the Qur'an using a microphone, while the other reciters read the Qur'an without a microphone. All Qur'anic verses are divided into three parts. Thus, each reciter reads approximately ten *juzs* of the Qur'an. Then it is continued with reading *doa*. Sometimes, *rujak* or *jenang procot* is provided in this event (Jombang, 18th August 2018).

Brokohan, selapanan and 'aqīqah

According to Gunasasmita (2009, p. 81), the word *brokohan* comes from the Javanese language *brokoh* meaning *kenduri* for a child. However, some authors like Gardjito (2017, p. 126) state that the word *brokohan* comes from the Arabic language *barakah* meaning blessing. *Brokohan* is usually held on the day of childbirth. In Javanese custom, a traditional caretaker (*dukun bayi*) leads the ritual in which she explains some important things related to the baby, such as the birth's time, the baby's weight, and the process of the birth. Some foods are prepared in this event, such as *tumpeng*, different kinds of *jenang*, and others (Kim, 1996, p. 117).

During my fieldwork, some of the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang performed this ritual. On the occasion of *brokohan,* the host invited her relatives and some neighbours to express her happiness. According to Bu Irna, *tahlilan* and some *surah*s of the

Qur'an are recited together during *brokohan*. She said that sometimes, instead of inviting people, the host prepares a package of food containing rice and side dishes. Then, the family members of the host distribute the package to the close neighbours (Jombang, 25th February 2018). Bu Imah shared about how this event is conducted.

> *Brokohan* is held on the first day of childbirth because a *selametan* should be held for a new-born baby. On such occasion, particular foods and drinks such as *dawet* (a kind of drink for dessert containing green rice flour jelly, coconut milk and palm sugar) are provided. Sometimes, *brokohan* is conducted by distributing *berkat* to the neighbours as an expression of gratitude for the birth of the baby (Jombang, 25th February 2018).

Another ritual that is performed regarding childbirth is *selapanan* ceremony. This ceremony is performed when a baby is thirty-five days old. As well as the *brokohan* event, the baby *selapanan* ritual was mostly carried out by the Muslimat NU community in Jombang. Many of them merged this *selapanan* event with *'aqīqah*. Unlike in the *'aqīqah* event, however, in the *selapanan* occasion, the slaughtering of sheep is not always performed. For those who can afford to purchase and slaughter a sheep for a baby girl or two sheep for a baby boy is better. However, those who cannot afford to buy the sheep, are not obligated to slaughter at that time. According to the majority of the scholars of *mazhab* such as the Syafi'i scholars, Hanbali scholars, and Maliki scholars, performing *'aqīqah* is considered as *sunnah mu'akkadah* for those who can afford it (Al-Qurtubi, 1985, p. 462). They based their notion on several Prophetic traditions as mentioned in the previous chapter (see chapter Five section *'aqīqah* and *khitan*).

During my fieldwork, I had a chance to participate in a *selapanan* event held by one of the Muslimat NU members in Jombang (see section 6.1). Some activities carried out in this ritual were reciting several *surah*s or verses of the Qur'an together such as *surah al-Ikhlāṣ*, *surah al-Falaq*, *surah an-Nās, surah al-Fātiḥah*, the throne verses and others; reading *diba'* in a melodious voice; cutting small pieces of the baby's hair; announcing the name of the baby; providing water with rose petals in a bowl; throwing coins; reading *doa* and having a communal meal. According to Bu Faicha, one of the Muslimat representatives in Tambakrejo village, providing a bowl containing water and rose petals aims to cool off the head of the baby. Besides, the rose flower is a symbol of good fragrance. The parents of the baby hope good future for their child. As for throwing coins, Bu Faicha said that it is a *sedekah* intended to make the guests happy, in particular the children (Jombang, 21st February 2019).



Figure 7: *Selapanan* ritual conducted by one of the Muslimat NU members at Tambakrejo village Jombang
(Jombang, 21st February 2018)

Khitan

Khitan is part of the life cycle rituals, which is widely practised among Muslims in Indonesia. Sholeh and Zahiroh (2017) state that *khitan* has become a culture based on religious teachings (p. 1). The majority of ulama regard *khitan* as obligatory while *khifāḍ* as recommended. Some scholars, on the other hand, consider both *khitan* and *khifāḍ* either obligatory or recommended actions (See chapter Five section *aqīqah* and *khitan*). Like the opinion of many scholars, the Nahdlatul Ulama organization views *khitan* as compulsory. At the 32nd NU *Muktamar* and *Munas Alim Ulama* in Makassar in 2010, the LBMNU members discussed the issue of *khifāḍ* and decided that this practice could be mandatory or recommended based on a hadith narrated by Aḥmad ibn Hanbal that the Prophet Muhammad said: circumcision is sunnah for men and honour for women (*al-khitān sunnah li ar-rijāl makrumah li an-nisā'*). The LBMNU members argue that the word *sunnah* – which means recommended – in this hadith does not mean the opposite of mandatory. Instead, the use of this word is intended to distinguish between the laws for males and females. There are several meanings regarding the Prophet's statement that *khitan* is *sunnah* for men and *makrumah* for women. First, the practice of *khitan* is more favourable for men than women. The hadith could also mean that the practice of *khitan* is recommended (*sunnah*) for men and neutral (*mubāḥ*) for women, or

it is mandatory for men and recommended for women, or men are encouraged to announce their *khitan* while women are asked to keep it secret, and their circumcision does not need to be exposed (Hadrawi, 2013; Purwoko, 2010).

Among the Muslimat NU community, the practice of *khitan* and *khifāḍ* is common. The practice of *khitan* is marked by a celebration while the practice of *khifāḍ* is usually kept secret. Bu Suliyah, one of the representatives of Muslimat NU in Jombang (Jombang, 25th February 2018) and Bu Tika, a Muslimat NU member in this regency (Jombang, 17th August 2018), told me that most of the NU, including the Muslimat NU communities viewed *khitan* as mandatory for men and recommended for women. Within the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang, the *khitan* was performed by a *calak* (a traditional *khitan* specialist) or doctor. When a boy is circumcised, his family holds a *khitan* feast (*walimatul khitan*) event. *Tahlilan* performance, the recitation of *al barzanji* (see chapter Five) or *diba'* (see chapter One), or religious lecture are usually included in the event. Bu Tika said:

> Usually, within the NU and Muslimat NU communities, there is a *walimatul khitan* event for male circumcision. In this event, the host invites his/her neighbours and relatives […] They carry out sending *doa* rituals by performing *tahlilan* and *srakalan* (reading *barzanji* or *diba'*). Some community members also invite a *kyai* to deliver a religious lecture […] the event is only held if a boy is circumcised. For the female circumcision, the family does not conduct any event […] A girl is usually circumcised when she is a baby (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

Bu Nyai Ida, a religious figure from Bantul (see her biography in section 6.4.3) also shared that *khitan* and *khifāḍ* is common among the Muslimat NU community in Bantul. *Khitan* is obligatory while *khifāḍ* is recommended. She told me that among the Muslimat NU community in the sub-district of Sewon particularly, and the regency of Bantul generally, *khitan* is performed when a boy is around eight or nine years old, while *khifāḍ* is done when a girl is several months old. When a boy is circumcised, his parents hold an event and invite the relatives and neighbours. Usually, *tahlilan* or *semaan* is performed on this occasion (Bantul, 25th January 2022).

Akad nikah and walimahan

Within the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang, *khatmul Qur'an* was conducted a few days before or after an *akad nikah* or wedding feast (Ar., *walīmah al-'urs*) ceremony. Some members invited the Muslimat NU community residing in the same village to perform the *khatmul Qur'an* at the house of the groom's or bride's parents. Bu Haulah told me, "several days before a *walimahan* ceremony, we (Bu Haulah and other Muslimat NU members in her neighbourhood) perform *khatmul Qur'an*. We invite people to read all Qur'anic verses" (Jombang, 17th August 2018). Others preferred to invite a *khatmul Qur'an* group or *ḥāfiẓ/ḥāfiẓah* and conduct *semaan*. Bu Afifa shared her experience about the *khatmul Qur'an* performance before a *walimahan* ceremony in her village.

> Here (in this village), the *khatmul Quran* is held on the seventh day after a *walimahan* ceremony. We perform the *khatmul Quran* by inviting people. We have a group of people called the *khatmul Qur'an* group. There are male and female groups […] It depends on the host of the marriage feast event, whether he/she prefers to invite male or female group (Jombang, 18th August 2018).

Unlike in the village of Bu Haulah and Bu Afifa, in the village of Bu Tika, instead of inviting Muslimat NU members or *khatmul Qur'an* group to perform *khatmul Qur'an*, some of the Muslimat NU members chose to invite one or more *ḥāfiẓ/ḥāfiẓah* (Jombang, 17th August 2018). Other participants who attended this *khatmul Qur'an* performance listened to the recitation while looking into *mushaf*. On this occasion, the host or his/her representative conveyed the purpose of the *khatmul Qur'an* or *semaan* before the Qur'an was recited.

Another ritual related to marriage is held in the evening before an *akad nikah* or a *walimahan* ceremony. Most of the Muslimat NU members in Jombang invited some neighbours to perform *yasinan* and *tahlilan.* Bu *Nyai* Um told me the intention of performing *yasinan* and *tahlilan* in this event. She said that the *yasinan* and *tahlilan* performances are carried out to send *doa* to the deceased family of the host (Jombang, 20th February 2018),

In the sub-district of Sewon Bantul, before a *walimahan* ceremony was held, most Muslimat NU members who wanted to marry off their daughter invited their neighbours on the evening day before the *akad nikah*. On many occasions, it was only men who were invited. The participants of this event performed *tahlilan* or *yasinan* and *tahlilan.* Only a few of them performed *khatmul Qur'an.* Here are some experiences of the Muslimat NU members in this sub-district.

> Before a *walimahan* day, people here usually invite their neighbours. You know, the majority of the inhabitants in this neighbourhood are the NU followers who usually perform *Yasinan* and *tahlilan*. Therefore, in the evening before the *walimahan*, we also perform *Yasinan and Tahlilan* (interview with Bu Ira, Bantul, 8th May 2018).

> Before my *walimahan* ceremony a few years ago, we performed communal prayer and *tahlilan* here (at her parents in law's house). It (the communal prayer and *tahlilan*) were also held at my house in the Kebumen regency (interview with Bu Fina, Bantul, 4th July 2018).

> Before the marriage of my daughters, I invite people. There is a short religious lecture and *tahlilan* performance. It is commonly practiced here (interview with Bu Shafa, Bantul, 3rd June 2018).

> Sometimes, there is a *semaan* of thirty *juzs* of the Qur'an before marriage. The intention is to get a blessing from the Qur'an recitation before conducting a big event such as marriage (interview with bu Ulya, Bantul, 9th July 2018).

The description of Bu Ira, Bu Fina and Bu Shafa show that the Muslimat NU members in Bantul mostly performed *tahlilan* or *yasinan* and *tahlilan,* as well as communal prayer before

a *walimahan* ceremony or *akad nikah*. However, a few of them such as Bu Ulya, who was a *ḥāfiẓah*, preferred to conduct *semaan* of all Qur'anic verses.

During an *akad nikah* or a *walimahan* ceremony, within the Muslimat NU communities both in Jombang and Bantul, the Qur'an was also recited. It was different from a marriage feast. In the marriage feast, all Qur'anic verses were recited (as mostly practiced by the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang), or some short verses of the Qur'an and *surah Yāsīn* were read together (as practised by most of the Muslimat NU communities in Bantul). In the *akad nikah*, however, only some verses related to marriage were recited, such as *surah ar-Rūm* verse 21, *surah an-Nisā'* verse 1 or verses 34-35.

Death rituals

In Jombang and Bantul, the Muslimat NU members went to the house of the deceased's family after hearing of the death via a mosque's speaker. There, they expressed condolences to the family of the deceased. Most of them stayed for a while at the house of the deceased's family while performing *tahlilan*. Only a few of them brought their *mukena* (prayer clothes) and performed *salat jenazah* for the deceased. Most of the time, food or drink was not served by the host for the guests before the burial. Bu Tika told me that the Muslimat NU members do not follow the funeral ritual in the graveyard.

From the perspective of the NU organization, Kurniawan indicates that the majority of scholars prohibit the participation of women in funeral rituals at graveyards. The prohibition is, however, considered as dislike (*makrūh*) based on a hadith narrated by al-Bukhārī and Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj from Ummu 'Aṭiyah: "(The Prophet) forbade us from following the funeral procession. But he did not enforce this command to us strictly". He argues that those who follow the funeral ritual in the graveyard, both men and women, should keep the matter of courtesy on the way to the tomb and during the ritual at the tomb. This is because sometimes, the circumstance may cause discomfort for women, such as the crowds which occur on the way or at the graveyard (Kurniawan, 2018b). After the burial ceremony ended, several kinds of death rituals were held by the deceased's family. In Jombang, the community of Muslimat NU participated in some of these rituals. On the contrary, the Muslimat NU community in Bantul were only involved in preparing the food served for the ritual. The death rituals in Bantul were mostly attended by men.

Third and seventh day ritual

Both in Jombang and Bantul, the first death ritual performed after the burial is a third or seventh day ritual. Usually, this ritual is held from the first day until the third or seventh day after the burial. It depends on the wishes of the host. During my fieldwork in Jombang, this ritual was practiced differently from one village to another. Even within one village, there were several kinds of practices. In one community group within the Tambakrejo village, for instance, some Muslimat NU communities came to the house of the deceased's family on the first day to the seventh day from morning until the afternoon. There, they performed the so-

called *fida'*. The word *fida'* comes from the Arabic language, meaning ransom. The intention of the *fida'* ritual is an attempt to ask forgiveness from God for the sins of the dead person by reading *surah al-Ikhlāṣ* several times together. According to Bu Nyai Um, the practice of the recitation of *surah al-Ikhlāṣ* depends to the number of the participants. For example, if *surah al-Ikhlāṣ* will be read four thousand times and the participants are forty people, then everyone reads one hundred times. She added that on the last day of the ritual, only men come to the house of the deceased to perform *tahlilan* and *yasinan.* For the Muslimat NU community in this village, joining *fida'* performance is essential. Sometimes, they even ask for a leave from their work. Bu Nyai Um shared her story with me about this.

> This tradition (*fida'*) is still new here. I do not know who initiated this ritual. When I was young, there was no *fida*' tradition. When my father passed away, there was no *fida'*. But it is a common practice now. Usually, *fida'* is participated by the society from lower economic class […] If they do not join the *fida'* ritual, they are afraid their neighbours may not perform *tahlilan* and *fida* for them. Even if they have a work to do, they will ask for a leave to join *fida'*. Once, my household assistant asked for leave to perform *fida'* in the death ritual from the first day until the seventh day. I said to her '*mak, wong repot ko ikut fida*'?' ('why should you join *fida'* when you were busy?'), she replied '*mangken nek kulo mati mboten difida'i*' (I am afraid if I die, no one will perform *fida'* for me) (Jombang, 20th February 2018).

In another community group within the Tambakrejo village, the Muslimat NU members gathered at the house of the family of the deceased in the late afternoon after *asar* prayer. In this gathering, *yasinan* and *tahlilan* were performed. The members of NU did not come to the house of the family of the deceased at the same time. Instead, they came after *isya* prayer to perform another *yasinan* and *tahlilan*. Unlike the death ritual in the Tambakrejo village in which women and men performed *yasinan* and *tahlilan* separately at different times, the death ritual in Corogo village was conducted by the male and female members of NU at the same time. Bu Tika told me about this.

> It (the death ritual) is done for seven days. In this village, men and women follow the event at the same time. For example, if the host holds the ritual after *maghrib* prayer, men and women come to the house of the family of the deceased at the same time. When the host invites us after *isya* prayer, all men and women in the neighbourhood follow the ritual together. In another village, the ritual is usually conducted separately between men and women. For example, the ritual for women is carried out after *asar* prayer, and the ritual for men is done after *maghrib* prayer. Usually, we perform *tahlilan*, and prior to it, we recite *surah al-Ikhlāṣ* one hundred times. On the last day (the seventh day), *yasinan* is also done (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

Within a few villages in the Jombang regency, during this third or seventh day ritual, the host prepared food and drink, as well as *berkat* for the participants as a *sedekah* for the deceased. Furthermore, the *berkat* was provided as an expression of the host's gratitude to the people

who came to his/her house and sent *doa* for the deceased. This act is based on a hadith narrated by Muslim ibn al- Ḥajjāj that the Prophet Muhammad said: "When a man dies, his deeds come to an end except for three things: ceaseless charity, a beneficial knowledge, or a pious descendant who prays for him" (An-Nawawī, 2007, bk. 12, chapter 241, hadith number 1383). Another hadith narrated by Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj also supports this act. There was a man who said to the Prophet Muhammad, "O Messenger of Allah, my mother died suddenly, and she did not leave a will. I think that if she could have spoken, she would have given charity. Will she have a reward if I give charity on her behalf? He said: Yes" (Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, 2007, book. 25, chapter 2, hadith number 4220). In addition to the mentioned hadiths, the Nahdlatul Ulama scholars argue that preparing foods on the seven days death ritual is recommended. This argument is justified by the saying of one of the successors (Ar. *tābi'ūn*, the generation of Muslims who followed the companions of the Prophet), Ṭāwūs. He said, "Those who die will be examined in their graves for seven days. So, it is recommended for those who are alive to give alms for the deceased in these days". However, giving alms is only recommended if the deceased's family can afford it. If the family of the dead cannot afford to give *sedekah*, they are not recommended to do so (NUonline, 2018).

Some Muslimat NU communities within the regency of Jombang did not serve any food or drink for the participants of the ritual except on the last day. Bu Faicha, one of Muslimat NU representatives in Tambakrejo village, told me about this.

> Usually, in our neighbourhood, we come to the house of the deceased's family in the late afternoon every day for seven days to perform *yasinan* and *tahlilan*. After performing *yasinan* and *tahlilan*, the guests leave the house of the family of the deceased directly. Food and drink are not served by the host. On the last day, usually, the host provides food, drink and *berkat* for the participants as a *sedekah*. We agree to do so because in our opinion, it will be difficult for the host to serve food and drink every day for at least six days. Even though serving food and drink for the guests is considered a good deed (Jombang, 13th March 2018).

Fortieth, Hundredth, and Thousandth day rituals

The Muslimat NU community in Jombang and Bantul held the fortieth, hundredth and thousandth day rituals in a similar way. Only *tahlilan* or *yasinan* and *tahlilan* were performed in these rituals. Besides, the ritual was mostly participated by men in the neighbourhood of the host who received an invitation. Bu Nyai Um, however, said that in Jombang, a few Muslimat NU members invite some memorizers of the Qur'an to perform *semaan* on the day of the event, then continued by *tahlilan* performance in the evening. She added that "people from upper economic and social status tend to do this (inviting some memorizers to conduct *semaan*). Besides, they invite more people than those who come from lower class […] they even give souvenirs like sarong (*sarung*) and prayer rug (*sajadah*) for the guests" (Jombang, 20th February 2018).

Haul

Haul (Ar. *ḥaul*) means year (Wehr, 1976, p. 217) is an annual commemoration for the dead family, in particular a religious figure such as *kyai*. The word *haul* comes from the Arabic language meaning year (almaany.com). *Haul* tradition is famous among traditionalist Muslims in Indonesia such as the Nahdlatul Ulama community. Among Javanese people in general, usually, a death ceremony is held based on a particular calculation in the Javanese calendar system. For instance, the seventh day ritual is held on the day seven and second *pasaran* (about Javanese calendar, see further chapter 3), the first year ritual is held on the fourth day and the fourth *pasaran* (Wisnumurti, 2012, pp. 142–143). The same goes for the *haul*. This event is usually held annually on the death day of the deceased based on the Javanese calendar (Fadeli & Subhan, 2007, p. 119).

The Muslimat NU community, both in Jombang and Bantul, used to organize a *haul* event for a religious figure in their village. Some of the members of this organization also held a *haul* for their ancestors. However, unlike Javanese people who conduct this event annually based on the death day of the deceased in the Javanese calendar, Bu Nyai Um said that *santri* people such as Muslimat NU tend to avoid using this date calculation. She told me further about this matter.

> For Javanese people, if someone passes away on Friday *legi*, the commemoration of the first year of his death, the second year of his death, and so on are held on the same market day (*hari pasaran*), that is Friday *legi* […] Using Javanese calendar as the calculation system is usually more appropriate and exact one year. Some people are very strict about the calculation. For example, the fortieth-day event must be conducted exactly on the fortieth day, no more or less. Usually, they are *kejawen* (*abangan* or *agami jawi*) people. Most *santri* people, however, choose Thursday evening, which is considered the greatest day of the week (*sayyid al-ayyām*) despite a few days difference. Even some *santri* deliberately do not want to conduct the ritual on the exact fortieth day to avoid the similar practice to that of the *kejawen* people […] before conducting a *haul* ceremony, if the host is a government employee, he/she usually discusses with his/her family to decide when the event should be conducted. So, it is more flexible, particularly for those who have a higher educational background and are more pious (Jombang, 20th February 2018).

Most of the time, on the day of the *haul* event, the Muslimat NU community in Jombang performed the *khatmul Qur'an* by inviting some *ḥāfīẓahs*. They also invited many people (men and women) to perform *tahlilan* communally. Bu Lilis, a Muslimat NU member from Jombang, performed *khatmul Qur'an* and *tahlilan* with her extended family and the Muslimat NU members surrounding her house in the *haul* event of her parents. The recitation of the Qur'an was started in the morning from the first *juz* until the thirtieth *juz* and ended around *asar* time. The event was then continued by the *tahlilan* performance (Jombang, 9th March 2018).

Like the Muslimat NU members in Jombang, during the occasion of *haul* in Bantul, the Muslimat NU members performed *khatmul Qur'an* and *tahlilan*. Two Muslimat NU members from Bantul, Bu Fina and Bu Wiwi, shared their experiences with me:

> Usually, my family performs *muqoddaman* (see further the next section) before a *haul* event. It is reading all Qur'anic verses from the beginning to the end. The Qur'an can be recited by a *ḥāfiẓ* or *ḥāfiẓah*. It can also be carried out by inviting some people to perform *muqoddaman* (Interview with Bu Fina, Bantul, 4th July 2018).

> In my grandmother's family, a *haul* is conducted once every year. In this event, we perform *muqoddaman,* then continued by *tahlilan* (Interview with Bu Wiwi, Bantul, 3rd June 2018).

6.5.2 Calendrical Rituals

Weekly gatherings

Within the Muslimat NU community in Jombang, a weekly gathering was held once a week in every community group or village. Several kinds of activities were performed in this weekly gathering. For example, *yasinan* and *tahlilan*, *nariyahan* (reading *salawat nariyah*), *manaqiban* (reading biography book of Shaikh Abd al-Qādir al-Jailānī,[83] *diba'an* (reading *diba'*), communal *zikir*, a reading from the *kitab kuning*, *pengajian*, and others. These activities mainly were held at the houses of different Muslimat NU members. Some activities were conducted at the local Muslimat NU office and village *musalla* or mosque. Bu Faicha, one of the Muslimat NU representatives in Tambakrejo village Jombang sub-district told me:

> Muslimat NU in every community group in this village has its gathering, mostly conducted once a week. The activities vary, such as reading the book of *Qalbul Qur'an* (see fieldnotes section of this chapter), reading *salawat nariyah*, performing communal *yasinan,* or reading *manaqib*. The gathering is mostly held at the house of the members in turns. However, some community groups prefer to conduct the gathering at a *musalla* located surrounding their houses. There is also a *yasinan* gathering once a week for all Muslimat NU representatives within this village (Jombang, 13th March 2018).

In the Tambakrejo village, at the beginning of the aforementioned activities, *surah al-Fātiḥah* was recited by the participants. The MC of the event invited all the participants to read this *surah* together to start the gathering. She said that the intention of reading *surah al-Fātiḥah* was to receive blessings from God. During a gathering in which the *Qalbul Qur'an* book was recited, more than a hundred Qur'anic verses compiled from different *surahs* were read together loudly. On the occasions in which *yasinan* and *tahlilan* were performed, besides

[83] A Hanbali Sunni preacher known as the founder of *tarekat Kadiriyah.*

surah al-Fātiḥah, all verses of *surah Yāsīn* and other short *surahs*, verses and *zikir* are recited together led by a *nyai* or one of the Muslimat NU representatives.

The Muslimat NU community in Bantul also conducted weekly gatherings. Some of these gatherings were organized by the Muslimat NU members in one community group. Other gatherings were organized by the Muslimat NU board at the village level. In the Panggungharjo village Sewon sub-district, for instance, activities such as *yasinan*, *tahlilan*, reading *diba'*, and reading *salawat* were conducted by community groups at the houses of the various Muslimat NU members. Some members told me about this, as follows:

> Sometimes, we perform *tahlilan* and *yasinan*. At other times, we read *diba'* or *salawat*. It depends on the host's request because the gathering is held at one of the Muslimat NU members' houses in turns. When the host wants us to read *salawat* or *diba'*, we do as she wishes. If she prefers *yasinan* and *tahlilan*, we perform *yasinan* and *tahlilan*. Sometimes, we even do all the activities (*yasinan, tahlilan,* reading *salawat* and *dibaan*). The most important thing is that the participants fulfil what the host wants (Interview with Bu Atik, Bantul, 8th July 2018).

> The weekly gathering in my community group is held once a week. Most of the time, if we recite *diba'* this week, then the week after, we perform *yasinan* and *tahlilan*. However, it depends on the request of the host. If she wants to send *doa* for her deceased family, we perform *yasinan* and *tahlilan* (Interview with Bu Nur, Bantul, 8th May 2018).

At the beginning of each gathering, it was obligatory to recite *surah al-Fātiḥah* together. The intention was to seek God's blessing. In addition to this *surah*, *surah Yāsīn* and some short *surah*s such as *surah al-Ikhlāṣ, surah al-Falaq, surah an-Nās* were recited together when the members perform *yasinan* and *tahlilan*.

In some sub-districts within the regency of Bantul, the Muslimat NU communities performed *tahlilan* and or *semaan* before a *pengajian*. In the Sewon sub-district, for instance, *semaan* and *tahlilan* were performed before a weekly *pengajian*. I had an opportunity to join this activity during my fieldwork. The *pengajian* was held every Sunday morning at the local Muslimat NU office. According to Bu Ulya, one of the Qur'an reciters who performed *semaan* before the *pengajian,* she and another *ḥāfiẓah* from the Muslimat NU members in Panggungharjo village initiated to perform the *semaan.*

> In the past, every Sunday morning, the Qur'anic recitation had been played on cassettes in the Muslimat NU office from 05:30 to 06:00 a.m. Then, *tahlilan* was performed before a religious lecture was given by a *kyai/ nyai* […] When I became a member of Muslimat NU in this village (Panggungharjo) for the first time, such activities already existed. I thought that playing the Qur'an on cassettes indeed had some advantages. However, the Qur'an was not recited based on the given order. One time, I heard (*surah*) *ar-Raḥmān* was being played. At another time, another *surah* was being played. Sometimes, one and a half *juzs* (of the Qur'anic verses) was being played. At the other times, a quarter (*juz* of the Qur'an) was being played. Thus, my colleague and I, as the memorizers of the Qur'an, wanted to change the practice of the Qur'an recitation from being played on cassettes to be broadcasted

> live […] It (the recitation of the Qur'an at the beginning of *pengajian*) is intended to remind the local community that there is a Muslimat NU *pengajian* on Sunday morning […] Sometimes, I come to the *pengajian* site at 5:00 a.m. […] my colleague and I read half *juz* (of the Qur'an) in turns (one *juz* in every *pengajian*). The recitation takes about one and half hours [...] until now, the *semaan* activity has been going on for years. Within one year, the recitation (for all Qur'anic verses) must be completed. Usually, the *khatmul Qur'an* is performed in the month of Syaban or at the beginning of Rajab month (Bantul, 9th July 2018).

In the weekly *pengajian* that I attended, one *juz* of the Qur'anic verses was recited by Bu Ulya and her colleague, who was also a member of the Muslimat NU in the Panggungharjo village. After the recitation of the Qur'an was done, the event continued with performing *tahlilan* together, led by a *kyai* or *nyai* and studying the various *kitab kunings*. Although this *pengajian* was organized by the sub-district board of Muslimat NU, the attendees of the *pengajian* were not only the Muslimat NU members within the Panggungharjo village and its surrounding. The Muslimat NU members from other villages also joined this *pengajian*. Furthermore, a small number of men who are NU members also participated in the *pengajian*.

Selapanan pengajian

Among the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang, a regular *pengajian* was held once every *selapan* –thirty-five days– at the sub-district level. In the Jogoroto sub-district, for instance, the regular *pengajian* was held every Saturday *Wage,* while in the Perak sub-district, it was conducted every Sunday *Legi*. This regular *pengajian* is known as *kubroan,* which means a big event. Bu Suliyah, one of the Muslimat NU representatives in the Perak sub-district, said that the *pengajian* is called *kubroan* because it is followed by all Muslimat NU members within one sub-district (Jombang, 25th February 2018). About two to three thousand members joined the *kubroan* event. At the beginning of the *kubroan* event, *khatmul Qur'an*, *yasinan* and *tahlilan* were performed.

During my fieldwork, I had a chance to participate in one of the *kubroan* events, which was organized by the Muslimat NU board in the Perak sub-district. Bu Suliyah told me that the *kubroan* event was funded entirely by the Muslimat NU *arisan* group. This *arisan* group consisted of several Muslimat NU community groups in the sub-district of Perak. Each Muslimat NU community group within the sub-district of Perak gave one hundred thousand rupiahs to support the *kubroan* event.

After *subuh* prayer, some *ḥāfiẓahs* were sitting on the stage and ready to recite the Qur'an. One of the *ḥāfiẓahs* was reciting the Qur'an using a microphone. Meanwhile, the other *ḥāfiẓahs* listened to the recitation while looking into *mushaf*. They did the recitation in turns until all Qur'anic verses were read. According to Bu Suliyah, the *ḥāfiẓahs* who recited the Qur'an came from a particular group consisted of eighteen female *ḥāfiẓahs* from different villages within the sub-district of Perak (Jombang, 25th February 2018).

At 8:00 a.m., the Muslimat NU members began to arrive at the site of the *kubroan* event. Many of the members were seen wearing the Muslimat NU uniform. Some mothers took their children to join this event. Most of the participants were sitting on the ground, which was covered with a mat. The rest participants were sitting in a *musalla* located across the stage and at the houses of the Muslimat NU members surrounding the stage. More than two thousand Muslimat NU members attended this *kubroan* event. Although the *kubroan* event was intended for the female members of the NU organization, a few numbers of male members participated in the event. Most of them were guests from the sub-district representatives of the NU organization.

Around 9:00 a.m., the recitation of all Qur'anic verses had been completed. The event was continued by a *tahlilan* performance led by a sub-district Muslimat NU board. Afterwards, a religious lecture was delivered by Bu Nyai Munjidah (the chairwoman of the Muslimat NU in Jombang and a Muslimat NU female ulama). In the late afternoon, the event ended with the recitation of *doa* and distributing *berkat*. Bu Suliyah told me that the *berkat* was collected from the Muslimat NU members in the Perak sub-district voluntarily.



Figure 8: The recitation of the Qur'an performed by some *ḥāfiẓah*s at the *kubroan* event
(Jombang, 25th February 2018)

Within the Muslimat NU community in Bantul, at the regional level, a regular *pengajian* is held every *selapan*. The place of the *pengajian* moved from one sub-district to another. On this occasion, five *juzs* of the Qur'an were recited at the beginning of the *pengajian*. One or more Muslimat NU reciters, most of the time memorizers of the Qur'an, read the Qur'an in a loud voice, while the participants who had arrived at the *pengajian* site listened to the recitation. Some of them listened to the recitation while looking into a *mushaf,* while others only listened to the recitation. Another five *juz*s of the Qur'anic verses were recited in the next *pengajian* and so on until all Qur'anic verses were recited (Interview with Bu Nadzir, the chairwoman of the Muslimat NU in Bantul in 2018. Bantul, 30th April 2018).

Khatmul Qur'an

Another event which was held regularly by the Muslimat NU community in Jombang and Bantul was *khatmul Qur'an.* The term *khatmul Qur'an* consists of two words, i.e., *khatm* and *al-Qur'ān*. The word *khatm* is originally from the Arabic language *khatmah*, meaning recital of the entire Qur'an (Wehr, 1976, p. 227). *Khatm al-Qur'ān* can be described as an act of completing the recitation of the Qur'an from its first *surah – surah al-Fātiḥah* – to its last *surah – surah an-Nās* –. In her study regarding the recitation of the Qur'an, Rasmussen (2010) describes a *khatmul Qur'an* activity as the simultaneous reading of the thirty *juz*s of the Qur'an by thirty reciters. This description is one of the *khatmul Qur'an* methods practised by Muslims in Indonesia.

There are at least two *khatmul Qur'an* methods practised by Muslims in Indonesia. The first way is reciting the Qur'an from the first *surah* to the last *surah* in its given order. The reciters take it in turns to recite the Qur'an. When the reciter reads the Qur'an out loud, the other participants who attend the event listen to the recitation while looking into a *mushaf.* Completing the recitation of all Qur'anic verses using this method is a slow process. The other method of *khatmul Qur'an* is reciting all Qur'anic verses simultaneously by thirty people, sometimes more or less than thirty. Using this method, each participant recites more or less one *juz* of the Qur'an (Yayasan Nusantara Mengaji, 2016). The voice of the reciters while reciting the Qur'an simultaneously such as in the second method resembles "the sonic of texture of an orchestra warming up, children on a playground, or a hive of bees" as described by Rasmussen (2010).

In Jombang, the *khatmul Qur'an* event was organized regularly once a month by the Muslimat NU community. It was held in all Muslimat NU branches within the regency of Jombang. Nevertheless, the *khatmul Qur'an* could be held more than once a month when one of the Muslimat NU members wanted to perform *khatmul Qur'an* at her house for a specific purpose.

Bu Hana, a member of Muslimat NU from Jombang described this to me as follows: "sometimes, this activity (*khatmul Qur'an*) is done until three or four times a month if there is a request (to conduct this event at the house of one Muslimat NU members), I mean (it is done) when someone invites other members to an event at her house such as sending prayers for her deceased family" (Jombang, 17th August 2018)

The *khatmul Qur'an* event took place at the houses of the Muslimat NU members or at a *musalla* within the sub-district. Bu Tika and Bu Sumi shared their experiences about the *khatmul Qur'an* activity in their sub-district with me. Bu Tika told me "*Khatmul Qur'an* is a routine program […] It is usually held at the house of one Muslimat NU members in turns" (Jombang, 17th August 2018), while Bu Sumi said:

> There are about fifty members of Muslimat NU in this sub-district. If I have a wish to send *doa* for my family, my parents, or relatives who have passed away, I ask the participants to perform *khatmul Qur'an* at my house. Originally, it takes place at each member's house in turns one after another. Usually, at the end of the event, the representative of the (local) Muslimat NU asks the participants if anyone wants to be the host for the next meeting. However, if someone has asked to be the host of the event before (the announcement), then the representative of Muslimat NU announces directly that the next meeting will take place at her place (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

In the village of Bu Lina, the *khatmul Qur'an* event was not held at the houses of the Muslimat NU members. Instead, it was conducted at a *musalla* near her house (Jombang, 9th March 2018).

There is a small variation in the practices of the *khatmul Qur'an* in every village within the regency of Jombang. The time of the *khatmul Qur'an* for instance, depends on the agreement of the Muslimat NU community within one village or sub-district. In some villages or sub-districts, the *khatmul Qur'an* event begins in the early morning after *subuh* prayer and continues until after *asar* prayer. At another place, it is conducted after *isya* prayer until about 10:00 p.m., then it is continued in the morning on the next day. Many of the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang performed the *khatmul Qur'an* using the first method in which each participant read one *juz* of the Qur'an. Bu Haulah told me:

> In all Muslimat NU branches at the regency (of Jombang), we can find *khatmul Qur'an* event. Usually, it is conducted once a month. In one village, the event starts at 06:00 a.m., and finishes in the evening. If the number of the participants reaches thirty people, each participant reads one *juz*. Person A reads the first *juz* (of the Qur'an) from 06:00 a.m., until a particular time, then it is continued by the others (Jombang, 17 August 2018).

Bu Afifa also shared a similar story: "it (*the khatmul Qur'an*) starts after *subuh* prayer. Usually, the host of the event begins the recitation, then it is continued by the other members when they arrive. It lasts until about 03:00 or 04:00 p.m., and it is closed with the *tahlilan* performance and *doa*" (Jombang, 18th August 2018).

As well as the Muslimat NU community in Jombang, the Muslimat NU community in Bantul also organizes *khatmul Qur'an* events. The Muslimat NU in Bantul, however, mostly used the second method of the *khatmul Qur'an*. This *khatmul Qur'an* event was known as *muqoddaman.* The word *muqoddaman* comes from Arabic language which means 'beforehand' or 'in advance' (Wehr, 1976, p. 750). In Indonesia, particularly in Java, the

word *muqoddaman* refers to reading thirty *juz*s of the Qur'an in a group simultaneously. *Muqoddaman* activity is usually performed in a regular gathering within Muslim society. Besides, it is also performed during a *selametan* event, thanksgiving event, and particularly during life cycle rituals (Rohim, 2019). Bu Nadzir told me that among some Muslimat NU communities in Bantul, *muqoddaman* is performed once a week. Usually, all verses of the Qur'an are recited. All participants read more or less one *juz*. This is followed by a *tahlilan* performance and *khatmul Qur'an* prayer (Bantul, 1st May 2018).

Peringatan Hari Besar Islam (PHBI)

Among the Muslimat NU communities, the celebration of the *Idul fitri* and *Idul adha* events are similar to that of the Aisyiyah communities (see chapter Five section Islamic festival celebration). The other celebrations related to the lunar calendar are usually called *Peringatan Hari Besar Islam* (the celebration of the Islamic holidays) abbreviated as PHBI. Among the Muslimat NU communities both in Jombang and Bantul, the PHBI events are held by conducting *pengajian*. In Jombang, before the PHBI *pengajian* was held, some Muslimat NU communities performed *khatmul Qur'an.* In Jogoroto village for instance, Bu Lilis told me that at the PHBI occasions such as *isra mikraj*, *khatmul Qur'an* is performed at every *musalla* in the village. She shared that: "for example, when celebrating *isra mikraj*. Before the event is held, *khatmul Qur'an* is performed […] every *musalla* board forms a group consisting of three *ḥāfiẓahs* to recite all Qur'anic verses. Such event is usually held twice a year, they are at the *isra mikraj* and *maulid* of the Prophet (Muhammad) events. It is not only performed by the Muslimat NU members, but also by the NU members" (Jombang, 9th March 2018).

Usually, the PHBI is conducted together with a regular *pengajian* event. However, some activities are added, and particular verses are chosen to be read in this event. According to Bu Tika, in Jombang, many communities invite orphans and give them financial support during a PHBI event (17th December 2019). Bu Aisyah, the representative of the regional Muslimat NU Jombang also said that when the Muslimat NU community celebrates Islamic festivals, in addition to *pengajian*, some activities are done. For instance, reading *diba'* is done, in particular on the occasion of the *maulid* Nabi (Jombang, 26th February 2018). As well as the Muslimat NU community in Jombang, the Muslimat NU community in Bantul also read *diba'* in this event besides holding a *pengajian*. According to Bu Ira, *diba'* is read on the occasion of *maulid Nabi* and *isra mikraj* (Bantul, 8th May 2018).

When the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul celebrated Islamic festivals, a *qāri'ah* recited particular verses which were tailored to the theme of the event. For instance, in the *isra mikraj* event, the *qāri'ah* recited *surah al-Isra'*. In the *maulid Nabi* event, the *qāri'ah* read some verses containing the story about the Prophet Muhammad's life. According to Bu Elfi (a Muslimat NU member in Jombang), however, the recitation of particular verses in these events are not obligatory. It depends on the ability of the *qāri'ah* in reading the Qur'an with the artistic style (*taghannī*). Sometimes, the *qāri'ah* is only able to

recite short *surah*s of the Qur'an, thus, these short *surah*s are recited in different kinds of events without considering the theme of the event (Jombang, 23rd February 2018).

Nyadran

In Javanese tradition, *nyadran* is a way of glorifying, honouring and commemorating the ancestral spirits. Within the traditionalist *santri* people such as the Nahdlatul Ulama community, the tradition of *nyadran* continues. Some practices have been changed into Islamic devotional acts. For instance, on this occasion, they perform *ziarah kubur,* reciting the Qur'an and *zikir*, and holding a *pengajian.* During my fieldwork, this event was held among the Muslimat NU community in Bantul. *Nyadran* was conducted in the Syaban month before Ramadan. According to Bu Nur, one of the Muslimat NU members in the village of Panggungharjo, three days before the *nyadran* event is held, the residents of Panggungharjo village usually conduct *ziarah kubur* together, clean the tomb area and send *doa* directly to their deceased family. After conducting *ziarah kubur*, the pilgrims return to their house. There is no event such as *pengajian* or communal meal in the graveyard. Three days after performing *ziarah kubur*, a *pengajian* in which *yasinan* and *tahlilan* are performed is done. Some kinds of food are also provided on this occasion (Bantul, 8th May 2018). A few days before Ramadhan 2018, I had the opportunity to attend a *nyadran* event held at the Panggungharjo Muslimat NU office. The event was organized by the local Muslimat NU boards in collaboration with the local NU boards. Here is my story when I participated in the event:

> It was 8:00 p.m. in the evening, a few days before Ramadan month in 2018, I came to the Muslimat NU office in the Panggungharjo village, Sewon sub-district. The office was located near a T-junction, in a narrow alley, three hundred meters from the main street of Sewon. Around the office, there were some *pesantren*s built by the Nahdlatul Ulama *kyai*s, a big public cemetery named Krapyak tomb, and many home residents. The office was used as a *musalla* by the surrounding residents every day. Around two hundred people (men, women, and some children) gathered in this place to join a *nyadran* event. The attendees filled the office, the yard outside the office, the *musalla* near the office, and the kindergarten veranda next to the office.
>
> Short *surah*s such as *al-Ikhlāṣ, al-Falaq, an-*Nās, and some verses of *surah al-Baqarah* were read aloud together continued with the *tahlilan* performance. One of the participants sitting next to me said that the *nyadran* event is commonly started with the recitation of *surah Yāsīn*. Nevertheless, at the time, the participants only read the mentioned *surahs* and verses. After the recitation of the Qur'an and *tahlilan* performance were done, one of the spiritual leaders (Javanese: *sesepuh*) of the village led the *doa*. The *doa* was performed twice. The first *doa* was read in Arabic language and the second was recited in Javanese language so that the meaning of the *doa* was understandable by the local Bantul inhabitants and could be a contemplation for them. The *doa* aimed to ask for God's forgiveness for ulama, the village ancestors, and the deceased family of the participants. At the end of the *doa*, the *sesepuh* sang a famous poem called *salawat burdah* containing a plea to God.

مولاي صل و سلم دائما أبدا

Maulāya ṣalli wa sallim dāiman abadan
Oh God send peace and blessings forever

على حبيبك خير الخلق كلهم

'Ala habībika khair al-khalqi kullihimi
Upon your beloved, the best of all creations

هو الحبيب الذي ترجى شفاعته

Huwa al-ḥabīb al-lażī turja syafā'atuhu
He is the most beloved (the Almighty) whose intercession is hoped

لكل هول من الأهوال مقتحم

Likulli haulin min al-ahwāli muqtaḥami
For every fear (and distress) that is going to come (on the day of agony and fears)

يا رب بالمصطفى بلغ مقاصدنا

Ya rabbi bi al-Muṣṭafā ballig maqāṣidana
O (Our) Lord! for the sake of (Your Beloved Prophet) Mustafa (the choosen),
fulfill (all of) our (good) goals

واغفر لنا ما مضى يا واسع الكرم

Waghfir lanā ma maḍā yā wāsi'a al-karami
And forgive us what has passed O the Most generous

A percussion group was giving a performance by singing and playing musical instruments like tambourine mixed with *gamelan*.[84] The singer and musical instruments players were all men. The singer sang some Javanese songs containing Islamic lyrics. Unfortunately, I could hardly see the performance from my seat because the group and the musical instruments were set in the middle of the male participants. The performance ended after fifteen minutes and was followed by a religious lecture given by an *ustaz*. A woman sitting next to me said that the *ustaz* was a local *kyai* who worked in one of the governmental institutions in Jakarta. Furthermore, he was a *dalang* who was good at playing *wayang*.

The *ustaz* delivered several points in his lecture. He told the participants about the importance of preserving the *nyadran* tradition. He encouraged them to hold the *nyadran* event because it was a good occasion to send *doa* to their deceased ancestors communally. Moreover, such event was good because people were able to reflect on what they had achieved in this world through remembering their deceased family and listening to a religious lecture. He added that conducting a

[84] In Cambridge dictionary, *gamelan* means 'an Indonesian orchestra consisting of percussion instruments, such as gongs, chimes, and often flutes and stringed instruments' (dictionary.cambridge.org)

> *nyadran* event could also maintain local tradition and bring advantage for Muslim artists like the *gamelan* players and singers.
>
> The *ustaz* also explained the origin of the *nyadran* ritual and the reason why people need to send *doa* to their ancestors. During his lecture, occasionally, the *ustaz* displayed his skill in playing *wayang* accompanied by the sound of tambourines and *gamelan* percussion. At the end of the lecture, he encouraged the inhabitants of Panggungharjo village to preserve local traditions by inserting Islamic acts and values. At 10:00 p.m., the event ended. The committee of the event distributed hot tea to all participants and *berkat* containing rice, side dishes, snacks, and some special foods of *nyadran* to bring home (Bantul, 9th May 2018).

Bu Nur (Bantul, 8th May 2018) and Bu Shafa (Bantul, 9th May 2018) told me that there are three kinds of food that are usually provided in the event of *nyadran*, namely: *ketan* (sticky rice), *kolak* (a dessert made of palm sugar, coconut milk and banana or other ingredients), and *apem* (a kind of pancake made of rice flour). The foods have symbolic purposes. When I joined the *nyadran* event in the Panggungharjo village, I received a meal box consisting of rice, side dishes and special *nyadran* foods. Bu Shafa who sat next to me gave me explanation about the intention of procuring those special foods. First is *ketan*. She said that *ketan* has the meaning of *kraketan* or *ngraketke* meaning tightening the bond as a symbol of gluing a rope of fraternity. *Ketan* is also believed to be derived from Javanese language which means *kemutan* or remembering through a self-introspection of what people have been done for one year. Some people argue that *kolak* is derived from the word *khalaqa* or *Khaliq* which means to create or a creator. Kolak is made as a symbol for someone to remember his Lord. *Kolak* which is made for *nyadran* ceremony is slightly different from that of usual *kolak*. For *nyadran* ceremony, the *kolak* is made darker in colour from brown sugar and drier or not watery. The other food is *apem*. *Apem* is a traditional Javanese cake made from rice flour, with a round shape and a slightly brownish white colour. The word *apem* is believed to be derived from Arabic language that is '*afwan* meaning forgiveness. *Apem* is considered as a symbol of repentance and a plea of man to his Lord.



Figure 9: A *berkat* given at the *nyadran* ceremony consisted of yellow rice, fried egg, cucumber, chilli sauce (*sambal*), shrimp cracker (*kerupuk udang*), *kolak* (at the top left of the picture), also *ketan* and *apem* (at the top right of the picture) (Bantul, 9th May 2018).

Tadarus Ramadan

During Ramadan, the *tadarus* activity among the Muslimat NU community in Jombang was carried out in the morning after *subuh* prayer until around 10:00 a.m. every day for approximately fifteen days. The *tadarus* activity ended with the celebration of *Nuzūl al-Qur'an* festival on the evening of the seventeenth of Ramadan. The Muslimat NU members within one community group or one village gathered in a *musalla* or Muslimat NU office to perform *tadarus* together.

During my fieldwork, I participated in a *tadarus* activity organized by the Muslimat NU board in the Tambakrejo village Jombang. The *tadarus* began at 5:00 a.m. at the Muslimat office which was located on a highway near one of the most famous *pesantren*s in Jombang, Pondok Pesantren Bahrul Ulum Tambak Beras. The Muslimat NU office was quite large. Some small tables with several *mushaf*s on them were placed in the middle of the room so that the Muslimat members who did not bring their *mushaf*s could use these *mushaf*s. Small charity boxes were placed next to the table. The members who wanted to donate money could easily put into the boxes because in this Ramadan month, the members were encouraged to perform more devotional acts than usual. These acts include reciting the Qur'an and giving *sedekah*. The Muslimat NU members resided in the Tambakrejo village

began to arrive from early in the morning. According to Bu Aminah, one of the Muslimat NU representatives in this village, although the *tadarus* activity finished at around 10:00 a.m., most of the Muslimat NU members chose to join the *tadarus* activity from 5:00 to 7:00 a.m. because they were free during these hours. Before sitting on the floor covered with carpets and mats, every member took a card marked with the number of the *juz* of the Qur'an she must read. Every *juz* of the Qur'an was recited by two members. Therefore, each member recited a half *juz* of the Qur'an. Sixty cards were hung in the corner of the Muslimat NU office.

After picking up the card, the members sat in groups. Each group was accompanied by an *ustazah* who was fluent in reading the Qur'an. The *ustazah* was in charge of listening, paying attention to the readings of each member and correcting the recitation based on *tajwid* rules. Once the members finished their recitation, they could leave. Many of them, however, preferred to wait until all thirty *juz*s of the Qur'an were completely recited. When the recitation of all Qur'anic verses was done, one of the *ustazahs* read the *khatmul Qur'an* prayer preceded by reading *surah al-Fātiḥah* and the first five verses of *surah al-Baqarah* together (Jombang, 28th May 2018).

Among the Muslimat NU communities in Bantul, the *tadarus* Ramadan activity was performed by its members after *tarawih* prayer. This activity generally took place at a *musalla* in their neighbourhood. Bu Ira told me that some *tadarus* Ramadan activities are conducted at the house of one of the Muslimat NU members instead of *musalla* (Bantul, 8th May 2018). The participants of the *tadarus* activity were not only from the Muslimat NU members. Muslim women from other religious organizations also joined this *tadarus* activity. Bu Ira said: "not only Muslimat NU members join this *tadarus* (Ramadan) activity. I perform this (the *tadarus*) with my neighbours. Most of them are Muslimat NU members. However, the Aisyiyah members residing in this neighbourhood also join the tadarus" (Bantul, 8th May 2018).

Once, I joined a *tadarus* Ramadan activity conducted by one of the Muslimat NU communities in the Panggungharjo village the sub-district of Sewon. The Muslimat NU members resided surrounding the mosque gathered after the *tarawih* prayer to perform the *tadarus.* The participants were divided into two groups. The first group performed the recitation with the guidance of an *ustazah* while the second group performed *semaan* of one Qur'anic *juz* without the guidance of the *ustazah.*

Independence Day event and ruwat desa

Among the Muslimat NU communities, the recitation of the Qur'an is not only performed during Islamic festivals, but it is also carried out during National festivals as well such as celebrating the Independence Day of Indonesia. In some villages in the Jombang regency, the Muslimat NU communities and other inhabitants of the villages gather in one place to perform *tahlilan,* reading *doa,* and having communal meal at the evening before the Independence Day, 17th of August. In the Tambakrejo village for instance, the Muslimat NU members and other people from the same community group gathered to conduct *selametan* or *tasyakuran kemerdekaan* (ceremonial feast as the expression of gratitude to God for the independence of Indonesia). Bu Irna and Bu Hana shared their experience with me.

> In this community group, we hold a gathering on the evening of the 16th day of August. We read (*surah*) *Yāsīn*, perform *tahlilan,* and have a communal meal (Interview with Bu Irna, Jombang, 25th February 2018)

> There is an event at the evening of the 16th of August. After *isya* prayer, we gather on the road of the village and perform *tahlilan* together (Interview with Bu Hana, Jombang, 17th August 2018).

In the past, Jombang people, including the Muslimat NU members in this city, tended to celebrate the Independence Day of Indonesia with 'non-religious activities' such as sporting competitions and games, decorating their village and holding musical performances. Recently however, many people add several religious activities to the event. Bu Tika told me: "in the past, people used to do non religious activities. Now, it is changed to *tirakat* night,[85] performing *tahlilan*, *itstighotsah* and inviting a *kyai* to deliver a religious lecture. Nevertheless, other activities remain to be carried out like doing parade" (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

For some members, the Independence Day celebration is also considered as a good moment to conduct the ceremony of *ruwat desa*. According to Koentjaraningrat (1985, pp. 376–377), the practice of *ruwat* or called *ngruwat* is one of the ceremonies usually practiced by the *agami Jawi* people (see chapter Three). *Ruwat* is performed as means of protecting children against supernatural dangers. This ritual is also performed when certain objects of the household are broken such as when a rice pot at their house is broken because the *agami Jawi* people believe that it is a sign of danger. Therefore, they hold a *ruwat* ritual. In the ritual of *ruwat*, a *wayang* performance is held with the recitation of some *mantras* by the *dalang*.

The *ruwat* ceremony practiced by some Muslimat NU communities in Jombang differed from that of conducted by *agami Jawi* people. Among the Muslimat NU communities, a *ruwat desa* ceremony during the event of the Independence Day of Indonesia aimed to express gratitude to God for the serenity of the village and the people residing in the village. Besides, it was intended to ask protection from disaster or danger which could befall the village and its inhabitants. There were no *wayang* performance and reading *mantra*s in this ceremony. Instead, the participants performed devotional acts such as reciting the Qur'an and reading *doa.* In addition, they had communal meal at the end of the ritual. Bu Nyai Um told me: "here (in this village), there is a *tasyakuran* called *ruwat desa* at the evening before the Independence Day of Indonesia. It is held annually […] *ruwat desa* is kind of *tasyakuran* for the village to be guarded by God so that no harm will befall the village. There is also *tumpengan* (providing cone-shape rice) in this event. Usually, the participants perform *tahlilan* and reading *doa* in this event. Sometimes, religious speech is delivered by a *kyai* containing the importance of maintaining the village, the surrounding areas, and more widely the Republic of Indonesia" (Jombang, 20th February 2018).

---

[85] *Tirakat* is a Javanese word from Arabic word *ṭarīqah* meaning procedure or method. In this context, *tirakat* means improving spiritual behavior and doing devotional acts to achieve what is desired. For instance, by fasting, performing *zikir*, avoiding some kinds of food etc. It is believed by the Nahdlatul Ulama community that doing *tirakat* can bring someone closer to God (*Tirakat*, 2012)

Walimatus safar (travel feast) for the hajj

Among the Muslimat NU communities, especially in Jombang and Bantul, the recitation of the Qur'an is also performed during *walimatus safar* for the *hajj*. Before making a journey to Mecca for pilgrimage (*hajj*), many Indonesian Muslims hold an event called *walimatus safar* for the *hajj*. Usually, this tradition is carried out by inviting neighbours, colleagues, and relatives to say a final farewell and have communal prayer and meal a few days before leaving for the *hajj*. Some Muslims also hold this ceremony after returning home from the *hajj*. According to Munawir, the chairman of LBM-NU Lampung, the ceremony of *walimatus safar* for the *hajj* has been carried out since the time of the Prophet Muhammad and His companions. In his opinion, this ceremony is recommended as it was practiced by the Prophet after arriving from travelling or a long journey (Faizin & Alhafiz, 2016).

In this *walimatus safar* ceremony, the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang performed the *khatmul Qur'an.* Bu Aisyah, the chairperson of the Muslimat NU in Jombang, informed me that, "it has become a tradition for me and for almost all the Muslimat NU communities, before travelling for the *hajj* or *umrah*,[86] that we perform *khatmul Qur'an*" (Jombang, 26th February 2018). Bu Tika, a member of Muslimat NU from Jombang, also told me about this *walimatus safar* for the *hajj* in her village: "usually, those who want to perform the *hajj* invite their neighbours to perform *khatmul Qur'an* in their house. Besides, *manaqib* is also recited in this event" (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

As well as the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang, most of the Muslimat NU communities in Bantul also hold *khatmul Qur'an* during the *walimatus safar* ceremony. Bu Sofi and Bu Shafa were among the Muslimat NU members who held *khatmul Qur'an* before and or after the hajj. Bu Sofi said, "before traveling for the hajj and after returning home from the hajj, I invite people to perform the recitation of the Qur'an for 30 *juz*s" (Bantul, 15th May 2018). Bu Shafa said, "when I went to Mecca for the hajj in the past, I held *khatmul Qur'an* here (in her house)" (Bantul, 3rd June 2018).

6.5.3 Occasional Rituals

Healing rituals

As mentioned in the previous chapter, many Muslims believe that the Qur'an can be used for healing, either physical or mental illness, or treating problems caused by spirits or witchcraft. For physical illness, they try to integrate medical therapy with the Qur'an. For mental illness and other problems caused by spirits or witchcraft, they often carry out some rituals. Among the Muslimat NU community in Jombang, the recitation of the Qur'an is sometimes performed in hospital or in the house of a patient. Usually, the family of the patients or guests who come to visit the patients recite the Qur'an, in particular *surah Yāsīn*. At other times, the family may carry out some rituals such as *selametan* at house. Some memorizers of the

[86] The non-obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca conducted by Muslims any time of the year

Qur'an are invited to the patient's house, and some foods are served by the family for their guests.

On this healing occasion, the recitation of the Qur'an was performed by the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul, both individually and communally. Bu Nyai Um shared her experience about this practice when her daughter in law was ill. She told me that when she heard that her daughter in law was sick, she rushed her to a hospital in the city of Jombang. It had been a few days after her daughter-in-law was hospitalized. After being treated by the doctors at the hospital, her condition did not improve. Moreover, the doctors told the family that they could not find the cause of the disease. Thus, the family was quite distressed. Bu Nyai Um thought that the illness of her daughter in law might be caused by something else which could not be seen by human eyes. She then invited some *ḥāfiẓahs* of the Muslimat NU members and students of her *pesantren* to perform *khatmul Qur'an* over the patient at the hospital. She said that when the recitation of the Qur'an was performed in the hospital, other patients did not feel disturbed. Instead, they felt serenity and happiness. After a few days of conducting the recitation of the Qur'an at the hospital, it seemed that the condition of the patient was getting better. Therefore, the patient could go home a few days later. Although the condition of the patient was getting better, the recitation of the Qur'an was continued to be performed at the house of the patient. The *ḥāfiẓahs* and some students of the *pesantren* came every day to recite the Qur'an for one week (Jombang, 13th March 2018).

Some Muslimat NU members in Jombang and Bantul also told me about their experience while being invited to read the Qur'an for a sick person. Bu Afifa, for instance, shared that, "sometimes, we are invited to come to the house of a sick person and we are asked to read (*surah) Yāsīn* so that the disease will be cured. If the sign of his/her death is known, reading the Qur'an aims to make his/her death easier" (Jombang, 18th August 2018). Another member, Bu Nafisa, also shared a similar story: "people in this village usually read *surah Yāsīn* to cure illness. Sometimes, the family of the patient asks the (Muslimat NU) community during a *pengajian* to recite *surah al-Fātiḥah* for the patient […] In the past, people were afraid that reading *surah Yāsīn* could make the patient die quickly. This belief occurred because they did not understand it (the benefit of reading *surah Yāsīn*). One day, a *kyai* explained that the purpose of reciting *surah Yāsīn* was not intended to wish the patient die quickly, but the recitation aimed to make the patient recover or die easily" (Jombang, 18th August 2018)

The Muslimat NU community in Bantul also performed a similar ritual for healing. Here are the experiences of two Muslimat NU members in Bantul, Bu Atik and Bu Ulya.

> Sometimes, I am invited to read the Qur'an over sick people. Usually, I read *surah* a*l-Fātiḥah*. While reading the verse '*iyyāka na'budu wa iyyāka nasta'īnu*' (It is You we worship; it is You we ask help), I repeated (the fifth verse of the *surah al-Fātiḥah*) up to eleven times [...] It is advised by *kyai* Munawir (the *kyai* of Pesantren Krapyak in the Panggungharjo village Sewon sub-district). It is actually not only for sick people but also for any purpose. If the sick person is in critical condition, I read *surah Yāsīn*. Some people believe that reading *Yāsīn* is only for death. Nevertheless,

> it is actually not. The purpose of reciting *surah Yāsīn* is to plead for god's forgiveness […] Who knows that after doing it (asking for forgiveness) through the recitation of the Qur'an and giving *sedekah* (money or food) for the reciters of the Qur'an, Allah will heal him. However, if he turns out to die after that, hopefully, he will not be tortured. That is the reason for reading the Qur'an for sick people (Interview with Bu Atik, Bantul, 8th July 2018).

> If someone says, "My father is sick, I want you to read the Qur'an", then I will read the Qur'an for him. […] once, someone asked me to find two memorizers of the Qur'an to read three *juz*s of the Qur'an every day for her sick mother. Reading three *juz*s of the Qur'an means completing the recitation of the Qur'an in ten days. There was also someone who asked me to complete the recitation of the Qur'anic verses within six days. Then, I came to the house of the patient with some *ḥāfiẓahs* […] There was even a person who was in coma, I said (to her family) "Do not talk anything, just let her listen to the voice of the Qur'an from any device" […] besides listening the Qur'an from any device, I told her daughter to read the Qur'an directly over the patient because she was listening. Even though she was unconscious and did not respond to anything, in reality, she was still alive and had a soul (Interview with Bu Ulya, Bantul, 9th July 2018).

Moving to a new house or opening a new shop

Moving to a new house or opening a new stall are among the events in which the Muslimat NU community hold recitations of the Qur'an. Many of them have had the experience of reciting the Qur'an on such occasions. However, the practice performed by each member in Jombang and Bantul differed according to the host's wish. Some of them preferred to do *semaan* by inviting *ḥāfiẓ* or *ḥāfiẓah.* Others invited their neighbours or the Muslimat NU members from the same village to perform *khatmul Qur'an* or *tahlilan.* A few of them chose to read the Qur'an alone or with her family members.

Bu Irna, a member of Muslimat NU from Jombang, and Bu Fina and Bu Shafa, Muslimat NU members from Bantul invited *ḥāfiẓ* or *ḥāfiẓah* before occupying their new house. Here are their stories.

> Before I move to my new house, I hold *khatmul Qur'an* by inviting four *ḥāfiẓahs*. My husband and I wish that the house we live in will be always blessed by God. *Baitī jannatī* (My house is my paradise) (Interview with Bu Irna, Jombang, 25th February 2018).

> […] My family does not only read certain verses of the Qur'an but also invites *ḥāfiẓ* or *ḥāfiẓah* to recite all Qur'anic verses and it is finished in one day (Interview with Bu Fina, Bantul, 4th July 2018).

> When my second child wanted to occupy her new house, we held *khatmul Qur'an* by inviting a *ḥāfiẓah* from the Muslimat NU member (Interview with Bu Shafa, Bantul, 3rd June 2018).

Bu Lina and Bu Haulah, the members of the Muslimat NU from Jombang invited their neighbours and the Muslimat NU members to perform *tahlilan* before entering a new house. Bu Lina said "Usually, when we want to enter a new house, we invite people to read *tahlil*. My children live in Jakarta. They also invite orphans to perform *tahlilan* and provide foods for them afterwards" (Jombang, 9th March 2018). Bu Haulah also invited other people to read *surah Yāsīn*, and *surah al-Insyirāḥ* as well as perform *tahlilan* communally. Besides, she read some verses of the Qur'an individually "We read a verse *rabbi anzilnī munzalan mubārakan wa anta khair al-munzilīn*. We also invite people to read (*surah*) *Yāsīn* and perform *tahlilan*. I also ask the guests to read *surah al-Insyirāḥ* to be at ease in life" (Jombang, 17th August 2018). Besides Bu Lina and Bu Haulah, other members from Bantul such as Bu Sofi and Bu Atik invited the Muslimat NU members to come to their new house to perform *khatmul Qur'an* or read *surah Yāsīn* and perform *tahlilan*. Bu Sofi told me, "When I moved to this house, I conducted the Qur'an recitation and *khatmul Qur'an* together there" (Bantul, 15th May 2018). While Bu Atik said, "Our elders said that reading the Qur'an is to get rid of something. Usually we recite (*surah*) *Yāsīn* and perform *tahlilan*, and *al-asma' al-ḥusnā*" (Bantul, 8th July 2018).

A few members, such as Bu Lilis from Jombang and Bu Wiwi from Bantul read some verses of the Qur'an while occupying their new house or opening their shop. However, instead of inviting *ḥāfiẓ* or *ḥāfiẓah,* their neighbours or other Muslimat NU members, they recite the Qur'an with their family. Also, other rituals were added to the Qur'an recitation practice.

> When I opened my new stall, we read *doa* for sustenance. Besides, I was advised to choose a specific day as well. Actually, all days are good, but I did not dare to open my shop (for the first time) on Friday *Pon* because my parents passed away on that day. So, I chose Saturday and Sunday. I perform *tahlilan* and *surah al-Insyirāḥ*. I was told by the elders to do so. I also read the verse "*Rabbi adkhilnī mudkhala ṣidqin wa akhrijnī mukhraja ṣidqin waj'alnī min ladunka ṣulṭānan naṣīra"* ('My Lord, make me go in truthfully, and come out truthfully, and grant me supporting authority from You'. *Surah al-Isra'* verse 80). In addition, I read *"Rabbī anzilnī munzalan mubāraka wa anta khair al-munzilīn"* ('My Lord, let me land with Your blessing: it is You who provide the best landings'. *Surah al-Mu'minūn* verse 29) while entering the house seven times. The purpose of reading these verses was for sustenance of course" (Interview with Bu Lilis, Jombang, 9th March 2018).

> I manage a business with my colleague who is a member of Aisyiyah so I do not do any ritual when opening my shop. However, my family do it. Usually, if we want to occupy a new house, we will perform a particular ritual. For instance, when my brother wants to occupy his new house, we (the member of the family) are told to read *surah Yāsīn* forty-one times over a bowl or mug of water. Then, the water is poured into every corner of the house so that it (the house) will be guarded (Interview with Bu Wiwi, Bantul, 3rd July 2018).

Ziarah kubur

The word *ziarah* is derived from Arabic language *zāra yazūru ziyārah,* meaning to visit. *Ziarah kubur* is a form of pilgrimage to the tombs of ancestors, relatives, and the tomb of venerated figures such as the Prophets, saints, and religious figures. It is part of Muslim travel such as *hajj*, emigration (*hijrah*), and travel for learning and other purposes (*riḥlah*) (Eickelman & Piscatori, 1990).

Ziarah kubur is a recommended act in Islam as stated in some Prophetic traditions. For example, a hadith narrated by at-Tirmīẓi that the Prophet said: "I had prohibited you from visiting the graves. But Muhammad was permitted to visit the grave of his mother, so visit them because it will remind you of the Hereafter" (At-Tirmiżī, 2007). In the early days of Islam, visiting graves was prohibited by the Prophet because he was worried that people would do something against Islamic belief as the Jahiliya people (Arabic people before the advent of Islam) did. However, as time passed, pilgrimage to the tombs was allowed because there was a great benefit from this practice, i.e. reminding Muslims of the death and the hereafter (Sholikhin, 2010, p. 128).

Koentjaraningrat states that z*iarah kubur* occupies an essential ceremony among the *agami Jawi* people. This ritual is usually performed on the day before every ceremony of the rites of passages of family members, on the Muslim holidays, in the *nyadran* event, before Ramadan month and after celebrating the *Idul fitri* festival. During their visit to the graves, they clean the graves of their relatives, put flowers on the graves, burn incense, and read *doa* (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 365). Within the *santri* communities, especially among the traditionalist group, *ziarah kubur,* in particular to the tombs of *Walisongo* and *kyai*s*,* has become a tradition since a long time ago. There are several motivations for conducting the *ziarah kubur*. First, sending *doa* for relatives, saints, or religious figures. Second, seeking spiritual experience as the pilgrimage to the tomb can be used as a lesson (*'ibrah*) to remember death and to learn from the lives of the deceased people. Besides these motivations, some people perform *ziarah kubur*, in particular to the grave of saints and religious figures, in order to *tabarukan* and to honour the guardians of God (Ismail, 2013; Muttaqin, 2018b; Van Doorn-Harder & De Jong, 2007, p. 327).

Muslim scholars, particularly the four *mazhab* scholars, have different views on this issue. According to Syafii and Hanbali scholars, pilgrimage to the tombs of saints is recommended (*sunnah*). On the other hand, Hanafi and Maliki scholars state that visiting the tomb of saints is neutral (*mubāḥ*). The Nahdlatul Ulama scholars support the *ziarah kubur* to the tombs of saints as long as it is done in accordance with Islamic teachings (Haq, 2019). However, a modernist group such as Muhammadiyah claims that visiting graves of saints is not validated by the Qur'an and hadith. In addition, conducting *ziarah kubur* are mostly intended to pay special respect to them and to seek a blessing. Thus, this practice is not allowed by them (Beck, 2019; Majelis Tarjih&Tajdid PP Muhammadiyah, 2013; Van Doorn-Harder & De Jong, 2007).

The views of Muslim scholars on women visiting graves varies. Some scholars forbid *ziarah kubur* for women based on a hadith narrated by at-Tirmiżī (2007): "Abu

Hurairah, one of the companions of the Prohet said: Indeed, the messenger of Allah cursed the women who visit the graves"(vol. 2, bk. 5, hadith number 1056). On the other hand, other scholars permitted the practice of *ziarah kubur* for women. In the opinion of these scholars, the prohibition contained in this hadith existed before the Prophet permitted the practice of visiting graves as stated in the hadith above in this section. When the Prophet permitted the practice of visiting graves, both men and women were included in this permission. Besides, some scholars state that visiting graves is prohibited for women due to their lack of patience and most of the time do something against Islamic teaching such as excessive mourning (Al-Maliki & an-Nūrī, 1996, pp. 199–200).

The Muslimat NU communities, both in Jombang and Bantul, consider pilgrimage to the graves of saints and religious figures as beneficial acts. Therefore, this ritual has been undertaken by many members in both cities, ranging from individual practice to collective one. In addition, both cities are surrounded by some of the pilgrimage sites of prominent religious figures. For example, In Jombang, there are graves of the Nahdlatul Ulama founders and *kyai*s or saints such as Kyai Wahab Hasbullah, Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari, Kyai Wahid Hasyim, Kyai Abdurrahman Wahid or Gus Dur. In Yogyakarta, there are graves of Kyai Mufid Mas'ud, Kyai Munawwir, and others. When conducting *ziarah kubur,* usually, *surah Yāsīn* is recited, and *tahlilan* is performed by the members. Nevertheless, some members prefer to read all Qur'anic verses rather than reciting *surah Yāsīn.*

Some Muslimat NU members in Jombang and Bantul had a habit of conducting *ziarah kubur* individually. Bu Lilis, a member from Jombang, for instance, came to the graves of the saints or *kyai*s*,* which are located in Jombang once a week on Thursday. She said, "Every Thursday, my husband and I travel around the city of Jombang to visit some saints or *kyai*s' graves. Sometimes, we go to the Betek village where the grave of Sayyid Sulaiman is located. On another occasion we go to the grave of Mbah Sayyid Ismail, Shaikh Jumadil Kubro, Mbah Kyai Wahab Hasbullah, and to the tomb of Gus Dur. I do that every Thursday from one place to another place in turns". When I asked her about the activity she and her husband carried out, she said that at each grave, they always read *surah Yāsīn* and perform *tahlilan* (Jombang, 9th March 2018).

Of the mentioned graves that Bu Lilis usually visited, in recent years, the grave of Gus Dur is one of the most visited places by the NU members from Jombang or from other cities in Indonesia. Every day many people visit his grave. However, many of the NU people from Jombang prefer to visit the grave of Gus Dur on Thursday evening or Friday, which is regarded as the best day of the week by Muslims. When conducting my fieldwork in Jombang, I went to this place a few times. When I visited the tomb of Gus Dur in Ramadan month 2018, bunches of men and women, small or big groups, were seen surrounding that place. The cemetery was located in the *pesantren* area of Tebu Ireng Jombang regency. The visitors passed a big gate before entering the cemetery area. Besides the grave of Gus Dur, in this area, there was also the grave of his father, *kyai* Wahid Hasyim, who was regarded as one of the National heroes, his grandfather *kyai* Hasyim Asy'ari, the founder of the Nahdhatul Ulama movement, and more than twenty graves belong to the family of the religious figures of the Tebu Ireng *pesantren*. Merchandise stores selling t-shirts mostly with the logo of the NU organization or the name and picture of Gus Dur on it, *hijab*, sarong, *kopiah* (a cap in a

truncated cone shape, mostly worn by male Muslims), praying equipment, and other souvenirs were on the right and left side of the road to the grave. There were also food shops in front of the cemetery complex.

One of the grave officers told me that the visitors coming to this grave area reach hundreds to thousands daily. The number even increases three times during the weekend or certain times such as before fasting month. He added that most of the visitors come from Jombang and other cities in Java. While I entered the grave area, there was a place where pilgrims could sit, read the Qur'an, and perform *zikir*. From where I sat, I could see some people in groups reading *surah Yāsīn* and *tahlil* led by one of the groups' representatives. Others preferred to sit alone while reciting the Qur'an calmly (Jombang, 27th May 2018).



Figure 10: Some visitors at the grave of Gus Dur and other religious figures in the cemetery complex of Tebu Ireng (Jombang, 27th May 2018)

Bu Nur, a member of Muslimat NU from Bantul, also used to visit the graves of religious figures in Yogyakarta. She explained that, "usually, I conduct *ziarah kubur* to the graves of religious figures nearby. For example, to the grave of *mbah* Mufid[87] in Pandanaran

[87] Mbah Mufid or kyai Mufid (1928-2007) was born in Solo Central Java. His full name is Mufid Mas'ud. Kyai Mufid is the 1fourth descendant of Sunan Pandanaran also known as Sunan Bayat who spread Islam in the area of Tembayat, Klaten Central Java and is regarded as a saint. Kyai Mufid founded an Islamic boarding school in Sleman Yogyakarta namely Sunan Pandanaran Islamic boarding school (Rozi, 2016).

and Maulana Maghribi[88] in Parangtritis. If I have enough time during my visit to the graves, I read *surah Yāsīn* and perform *tahlilan.* However, when I do not have enough time, I only perform *tahlilan*" (Bantul, 8th May 2018).

The Muslimat NU communities in both cities also perform *ziarah kubur* collectively, whether it is organized by the Muslimat NU boards or by the community groups where they live. The Muslimat NU board in Jombang organizes *Ziarah kubur* to the graves of the five saints which located in East Java regularly. Every Friday, one of the Muslimat NU branches at the sub-district level in Jombang visited all the tombs of the five saints together. Bu Lilis said that there are twenty-one Muslimat NU branches in this regency. Thus, the Muslimat NU members in every branch visit the graves of five saints once to twice a year. Bu Lilis told me further:

> Muslimat NU Jombang organizes a regular *ziarah kubur*. The twenty-one Muslimat NU branches at the sub-district level in Jombang conduct *ziarah kubur* every Friday in turns […] we visit all five graves. For example, this Friday, the Muslimat NU branch in this sub-district conducts the *ziarah*, then next Friday, another branch will do and so on […] we read *surah Yāsīn* and perform *tahlilan* in every grave (Jombang, 9th March 2018).

Bu Lina, a Muslimat NU member from Jombang told me her story when she went to the graves of the five saints with the Muslimat NU members in 2017:

> Last year, we visited the graves of five saints located in East Java. They are: Sunan Bonang in Tuban, Sunan Drajat in Lamongan, Sunan Giri and Shaikh Maulana Malik Ibrahim in Gresik, and Sunan Ampel in Surabaya. In addition, we went to the grave of Shaikh Kholil Bangkalan on Madura Island. We went to these places by minibus. One minibus consisted of fifteen Muslimat NU members […] Bu Nyai from this village was the one who led the *ziarah kubur*. We left early in the morning, visited all the graves, and arrived at the last destination, the grave of Sunan Ampel, in Surabaya. After *duhur* prayer, we started reciting the Qur'an from the beginning, i.e., *surah al-Fātiḥah* and completed the recitation of all Qur'anic verses in the evening. The recitation of the Qur'an was performed simultaneously by dividing the participants into three groups […] Each group consisted of five people. Apart from reciting all Qur'anic verses, we also recited *surah Yāsīn* and performed *tahlilan* together. Then, Bu Nyai read *doa* before we went back to Jombang (Jombang, 9th March 2018).

Another Muslimat NU member from Bantul, Bu Sofi, told me about her experience during a *ziarah kubur* with her colleagues and with the Muslimat NU members in her community group. She narrated the following anecdote:

---

[88] Maulana Maghribi is considered as one of the saints and preachers of Islam in Java. However, Authors have a different opinion regarding his biography. According to R Tanojo in Saksono (1995, p. 34), Maulana Maghribi is one of the descendants of Shaikh Maulana Ishaq who came to the Archipelago from Arab. On the other hand, Sofwan Ridin considers Maulana Maghribi as one of Walisongo and he has another name i.e. Maulana Ishaq (Sofwan, R., Wasit, H., & Mundiri, 2000, p. 34).

> I just came back from Surabaya-Madura last week. I travelled three days and nights with my friends, the alumnae of one of the *pesantren*s here. We left on Thursday evening and went back (to Bantul) on Sunday […] we visited the grave of Gus Dur, some saints in Mojokerto, Ampel and Tuban East Java, and Bangkalan in Madura Island […] last year, we went to the graves of saints in Demak and Kudus Central Java, and Cirebon West Java […] a few weeks ago, the Muslimat NU members here conducted *ziarah kubur* to the cemetery of Walisongo. Thank God, every time the Muslimat NU board organizes such a program (*ziarah kubur*), the members respond and appreciate it positively. Even non-Muslimat NU members are happy to join the program […] There, we read (*surah*) *Yāsīn* and perform *tahlilan* (Bantul, 15th May 2018).

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the recitation of the Qur'an practices during the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals. I have looked in particular at how the recitation of the Qur'an practiced on the above occasions within the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul.

The recitation of the Qur'an was practised variously in both communities. Among the majority of the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang, the recitation of the Qur'an was merely a devotional act intending to understand the meaning of its verses, get reward, blessing, and draw closer to God. In the public sphere, the recitation of the Qur'an within this community was only performed during a 'non *bid'ah'* gathering. For instance, it was recited in the life cycle rituals based on textual references such as *'aqīqah, khitan, akad nikah* and *walimahan* ceremonies; in some calendrical rituals such as public *tadarus* program and *pengajian* events. On the above occasions, the Qur'an was mostly recited by a *qāri'*, a *qāri'ah* or a representative of Aisyiyah at the beginning of the events. Furthermore, no particular *surah* or verse was chosen to be recited here.

On the other hand, among the Aisyiyah communities in Bantul, the recitation of the Qur'an was not only intended for understanding the meaning of the verses, getting reward or God's blessing but it was also intended as an intercession with the hope that their *doa* will be fulfilled by God. Therefore, within the communities, the recitation of the Qur'an was performed communally in various public gatherings. For instance, it was done in the life cycle occasions based on Islamic references such as *'aqīqah, khitan, akad nikah* and *walimahan* ceremonies. In addition, it was conducted in the life cycle rituals taken from neutralized Javanese tradition such as fourth month and seventh month pregnancy rituals, *pengajian pernikahan* events, as well as three days mortuary rites. On some calendrical rituals such as *tadarus* program, *pengajian,* Islamic festival events, and sending *doa* ritual as well as during several occasional events such as healing ritual, *tasyakuran*, opening a new shop or occupying a new house, the Aisyiyah communities in this place also gathered and recited the Qur'an. On these occasions, some Qur'anic verses or *surahs* were chosen depending on the event. For example, *surah Yūsuf* or *Maryam* were recited during pregnancy

rituals, *surah ar-Raḥmān* and/or Luqmān were chosen for the *'aqīqah* and *khitan* ceremonies, and *surah* Yāsīn or al-Mulk was recited on the death occasion.

These different practices may be due to several reasons. First, as indicated by some studies, the habitus of the Muhammadiyah community in Jombang and Bantul is different. The Muhammadiyah community in Jombang, like in other places in Indonesia tend to be less positive to local customs. On the other hand, Muhammadiyah community in Yogyakarta tend to be more accommodative to local traditions. Secondly, organizationally, Muhammadiyah's attitude towards local cultures is shifting over time. In recent years, the Muhammadiyah organization develops the concept of *dakwah kultural* which attempts to combine between the idea of 'purification' and appreciation of local cultures. However, in the local level or individually, there are various opinions regarding this matter. Third, the majority of Jombang inhabitants are the followers or sympathizers of NU. Therefore, Muhammadiyah people in this place need to show their identity as the modernist organization that attempts to 'purify' Islamic beliefs and practices from non-Islamic traditions. On the contrary, Yogyakarta is the birthplace of the Muhammadiyah organization. Most of its inhabitants are the followers or sympathizers of this organization. Thus, they tend to be 'relaxed' and accept some parts of local customs. In addition, the first leaders of this organization came from the area of Yogyakarta and were *abdi dalem* who had strong relationship with the Yogyakarta Sultanate. Thus, they do not explicitly reject Javanese traditions.

For the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul, the recitation of the Qur'an was performed to get close to God, seek His blessing, and a *wasilah* with the hope that their *doa* will be accepted by God and the events they conducted run smoothly. Therefore, it was done in the various life cycle, calendrical, and occasional events which were originated from Islamic texts or modified from local customs. In Jombang, for instance, the Qur'an was recited during the fourth and seventh month pregnancy ceremonies; *brokohan*, *selapanan, 'aqīqah* childbirth ceremonies, *khitan*, marriage and death rituals; weekly gathering; *selapanan pengajian*, *khatmul* Qur'an event; Islamic festival celebrations; *tadarus* Ramadan; Independence Day and *ruwat desa*; as well as healing ritual, moving to a new house or opening a new shop, *walimatus safar* for hajj; and *ziarah kubur* occasions. In Bantul, the Qur'an is also recited during the fourth and seventh month pregnancy ceremonies; *'aqīqah* childbirth ceremonies; *khitan*, marriage and death rituals; weekly gathering; *selapanan pengajian*, *khatmul* Qur'an event; *nyadran* event; Islamic festival celebrations; *tadarus* Ramadan; as well as healing ritual; moving to a new house or opening a new shop, *walimatus safar* for hajj; and *ziarah kubur* occasions.

The Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul conducted additional rituals beyond the requirements of the Islamic texts and attempted to accommodate some local traditions. Many of the above rituals were held in both places. A few rituals, however, were only conducted in Jombang or Bantul. For example, the *selapanan* childbirth ceremony and *ruwat desa* events were done by the Muslimat NU community in Jombang. Meanwhile, the *nyadran* event was held by the Muslimat NU community in Bantul. This difference occurs because of the different local customs in both places. The inhabitants of Jombang used to conduct the *selapanan* ceremony while the people of Yogyakarta used to conduct the *nyadran* event.

In the aforementioned rituals, both communities chose particular *surah* or verses to be recited. For instance, in the fourth and seventh month pregnancy rituals, most of the Muslimat NU communities in both places recited *surah* Yūsuf and Maryam together. Some of them added *surah* Luqmān and Muhammad or all Qur'anic verses to be recited in these events. On the occasion of marriage, such as before or after *akad nikah* or wedding ceremonies, the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang performed *khatmul Qur'an* while the Muslimat NU communities in Bantul performed *Yasinan* and *tahlilan*. In the death rituals, both communities were mostly performed *Yasinan* and *tahlilan*. Some communities in Jombang, also read *surah* al-Ikhlāṣ several times in addition to performing *Yasinan* and *tahlilan.* In some events, all Qur'anic verses were recited instead of choosing particular verses or *surahs*, such as in the *khatmul Qur'an* and *tadarus* Ramadan events. In the above events, the Qur'an was recited by a *qāri'ah,* representatives of local Muslimat NU, a group of *hāfiẓahs,* or by all participants. Sometimes, the recitation was performed together at the same time. At the other times, it was done in turns.

Chapter 7
The Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU Women: Achieving Position as a Religious Authority

7.1 Introduction

As noted in chapter Four, the Aisyiyah organization was first established as part of an effort of K.H.A. Dahlan to broaden the societal roles of women. Dahlan and his wife, Siti Walidah, taught a few women and prepared them to become leaders of Aisyiyah. Organizationally, women have had a limited legal, structural, and financial authority in Muhammadiyah. The patriarchal organization holds the authority over all its autonomous organizations including Aisyiyah. The other case study of this dissertation, Muslimat NU, was born within the *pesantren* circle in which the patriarchal norms are strongly maintained. The women of NU did not have voice and official position within the organization until 1946 when Muslimat NU, the women's branch of NU was founded. Like the Aisyiyah women, the Muslimat NU women also have a limited legal, structural, and financial authority within the NU.

During my fieldwork, I was captivated by the image of tens to thousands of middle-aged women to the elderly participating in the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU public gatherings as described in chapter Six. I was also fascinated by a few women who taught Islamic knowledge or led some rituals, not only among women-only participants, but also within mixed-gender audiences. These women were recognized as religious authorities among their communities, particularly through the above public gatherings. As such, this chapter will answer the second and third sub-questions of this study:

- *What is the position of women as religious authorities within the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations?*
- *What is the lived experience of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women, and how does their lived experiences relate to their success in achieving position as religious authorities?*

This chapter is organized into the following sections: section 7.1 is the introduction of this chapter. Section 7.2 to section 7.6 give a description of religious authority agents among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul. Section 7.2 describes various religious authority agents among the Aisyiyah communities; section 7.3 explores the religious authority position of women in the Muhammadiyah organization. Section 7.4 explains the religious authority agents among the Muslimat NU communities. Section 7.5 discusses the religious authority position of women within the NU organization.

Section 7.6 narrates the lived experience of the four Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU religious authority figures.

Section 7.7 analyses the way women of this study gain position of religious authority through ritual practices. The last section (7.8) is the conclusion of this chapter consists of discussion related to the position of women as religious authorities within the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU as well as analysis on the relation of the lived experiences of the four Aiysiyah and Muslimat NU women with their success in gaining position as religious authorities.

7.2 Religious Authority Agents Among the Aisyiyah Communities

7.2.1 Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid

Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid is considered important for the Muhammadiyah community. It is a religious authority institution in which the Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah communities refer to regarding religious matters in daily life. The Aisyiyah communities can access *Tarjih* decision, *Tarjih fatwa* and *Tarjih* discourse through several ways. First, they can read the decisions and *fatwa*s of the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* through a compilation book called *Himpunan Putusan Tarjih* (HPT) and *Tanya Jawab Agama*. The Aisyiyah communities can find *Tarjih* discourses which are the opinions written by the Muhammadiyah members in many published journals, articles, magazines, and books. Second, the communities can browse the decisions, *fatwa*s, or discourses through some websites, such as the official website of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*, *Suara Muhammadiyah online* and others.

In addition to the published books and websites, some *pengajians* are organized to convey the products of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*. For instance, according to Bu Munjiyah, the central executive of Aisyiyah conduct a program called *perempuan mengaji* (women's Islamic study group). This activity is held on the last Saturday every month at the office of the Aisyiyah central executive. A *pengajian* is also held every Tuesday at the elderly home of Aisyiyah in Yogyakarta called Baiturrahmah. She further explained that the book of *Tanya Jawab Agama* from the first volume to the eighth volume is taught in this *pengajian*. The central board of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* also organizes a *pengajian* called *Pengajian Tarjih* once a week every Wednesday. This *pengajian* is open for public. In this *pengajian*, public audience, especially the Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah communities may pose questions directly to the boards of the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* (Bantul, 15th June 2018).

The products of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* are also disseminated to the Aisyiyah community at the regional or sub-district levels by the regional board of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*. For example, in Jombang sub-district, the *Tarjih fatwa*s and decisions were delivered during a weekly *pengajian*. In the Kasihan sub-district, the *Tarjih fatwa*s and decisions were often quoted by the Muhammadiyah *ustaz* or Aisyiyah *ustazah* during *ceramah agama.* Furthermore, among the community of Ummahatul Mukminin, these *fatwa*s and decisions were delivered by an *ustazah* after a weekly *pengajian*.

Although the Aisyiyah communities have access to the products of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*, only a few members and sympathizers with university educational background

or those who had been member of Aisyiyah for a long time knew these decisions or *fatwa*s. For example, Bu Ali, told me that if she finds some problems regarding religious issues, the product of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* is one of the references she considers (Bantul, 13th May 2018). Bu Nisa also took the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* products into consideration when she found religious problems in daily life (Bantul, 30th April 2018).

7.2.2 Media

Printing books, television, radio, and internet are other sources of Islamic learning for the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul. Bu Ali, for instance, read various kinds of literature to get more information about Islamic tenets (Bantul, 13th May 2018). Bu Dwi also learned Islamic knowledge from various books (Jombang, 25th February 2018). In addition to books, the Aisyiyah communities also learned Islamic teachings from TV and radio. Many members and sympathizers of Aisyiyah, however, mentioned that they do not take for granted the information they get from TV or radio. They told me that they would confirm the information they heard from TV and radio to local *ustazs* or *ustazah*s.

Using internet as the source of religious learning is not common among the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul. A few members even resisted to accept religious information they got from internet websites. Bu Salmah, a member of Aisyiyah in Jombang, for instance, said that she is not allowed by her Aisyiyah *ustazah* to use internet websites for Islamic learning. She told me that it is because most of the internet websites do not belong to Muslims so they may provide false information (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

7.2.3 Local Religious Authority Figures

Local religious figures are the most important sources for learning Islamic knowledge and seeking for religious fatwa within the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul. During my fieldwork among the Aisyiyah communities in the sub districts of Jombang and Kasihan, Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah were two influential *ustazahs* (see further section 7.6.1).

Among the Aisyiyah community in Jombang, especially in the sub-district of Jombang, where I mainly conducted my fieldwork, almost all members I interviewed went to Bu Amri for religious problems they had in daily life. Bu Asih, for instance, asked solution from Bu Amri when she found difficulty related to religious issues. She said that Bu Amri understands very well about Islamic teachings (Jombang, 17th August 2018). Besides Bu Asih, Bu Nunuk, Bu Nabila, and Bu Iis also preferred to ask Bu Amri than other religious figures for religious issues (Jombang, 17th August 2018). Among the Aisyiyah community in the Kasihan sub-district, and from those I interviewed, Bu Munjiyah was an important religious authority. Bu Rahayu, Bu Nisa, and Bu Iyam, for example, mentioned the name of Bu Munjiyah when they referred regarding religious matters (Bantul, 2018). Both Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah are informal religious authorities.

7.3 Women's Religious Authority Position in the Muhammadiyah

Speaking of the authority of male and female ulama in the religious field, theoretically, both have equal authority in Islam, either among male or female audiences. It can, however, be different in practice. Related to the question of their position of religious authorities within the Muhammadiyah organization, this study reveals that within the formal religious authority institution of Muhammadiyah, *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid,* at the provincial and regional levels, female ulama were subordinate. Sultana (2010) in her work demonstrates that women's subordination term refers to "the inferior position of women, their lack of access to resources and decision making" (p. 7). The Aisyiyah women, both in Jombang and Bantul did not have positions in the provincial and regional *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*. Moreover, they lacked access to decision making related to religious issues in this formal religious authority institution. Nevertheless, at the national level, some female ulama have been appointed as members of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* since 1995. Their authority in making decisions related to religious issues in the central *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* is equal to the authority of male members.

A few members of Aisyiyah in Jombang and Bantul gained a position of informal religious authority. In Jombang, these women had an equal authority to their male counterparts or more than them among women-only audiences. For instance, in the gatherings conducted by the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang, religious lessons or rituals were provided or led by an *ustaz* from Muhammadiyah or an *ustazah* from Aisyiyah, but in seeking solution for religious issues, many members I interviewed referred to the Aisyiyah *ustazahs.* Nevertheless, they almost had no authority among male or mixed gender participants. During my fieldwork, I did not find the ulama of Aisyiyah provided religious lessons or led religious rituals among male audiences.

Similarly, the female ulama of Aisyiyah in Bantul had more authority compared to their male counterparts among women-only participants. In the Aisyiyah gatherings, an *ustaz* from Muhammadiyah or an *ustazah* from Aisyiyah provided religious lessons or led religious rituals. However, in many events I participated, the lessons and rituals were mostly provided and led by the Aisyiyah *ustazah.* Furthermore, many members referred to the *ustazah* for their religious problems. Within mixed-gender audiences, unlike the female religious authority in Jombang, the female religious authority in Bantul had a limited religious authority. For example, on the occasion of *nuzulul Qur'an* participated by male and female members of Muhammadiyah in the *musalla* of Sabilal Muhtadin, Bu Munjiyah gave a speech and led *doa* (see chapter Six).

7.4 Religious Authority Agents Among the Muslimat NU Communities

7.4.1 LBMNU

LBMNU is the formal religious authority institution within the Nahdlatul Ulama organization (see chapter Four). Although it has an essential role, among the Muslimat NU communities both in Jombang and Bantul, the role of an informal local religious figure, in particular *kyai* or *nyai,* is a critical one. Most members consult with local religious figures to seek guidance concerning religious or other matters. According to Machasin (2010), until the present time, informal religious authority figures remain the most important agent of religious authority among the community who is loyal to them (p. 115). Among the Nahdlatul Ulama community, a fatwa made by the highest decisions body in the organization is inapplicable if the local religious figures have a different notion on the same issue (see chapter Three). As noted in chapter Four, local *kyai*s and/or *nyai*s have a greater influence among the NU communities in the grassroot level. No member of Muslimat NU I interviewed referred directly to the LBMNU boards or its products in seeking religious guidance or fatwa.

7.4.2 Media

Some Muslimat NU members take advantage of new media developments. For instance, Bu Haulah, a member of Muslimat NU from Jombang. She mentioned that, "previously, I learned Islamic tenets from *pesantren* because I have lived in a *pesantren* since I was a child. Besides, I attended Islamic schools, so I was taught Islamic knowledge there (Islamic schools). Now, I learn from books and TV" (Jombang, 17th August 2018). Other members, especially those in their 30s or 40s, such as Bu Irna, a member from Jombang and Bu Umu, a member from Bantul, use the internet to search for information related to religious issues. Bu Irna told me, "Usually, I search on the internet to find any kind of information" (Jombang, 25th February 2018). While Bu Umu said, "I use Google to look for some references" (Bantul, 3rd July 2018). However, the members who use the internet still consider the reliability of the website in which the information is found. If the website is trustworthy, like the official website of NU, they accept the information. Sometimes, they discuss the information they get from the internet with a local *kyai* or *nyai.*

Unlike some members of the Muslimat NU who took advantage of media related to religious knowledge, most of the Muslimat NU members I interviewed preferred to discuss their religious issues with local religious figures like *kyai, nyai, ustaz* or *ustazah.* Bu Lilis, for instance, a Muslimat NU member from Jombang, said when I asked her about referring to media regarding her religious issues, told me: "I never use any media. I prefer to directly ask a *kyai* or *nyai* […] they have considerable experience of religious knowledge, so I am convinced" (Jombang, 9th March 2018). Bu Hana, another member from Jombang, told me that she gets information regarding religious matters from a *kyai* during *pengajian*. She did not read books or search on the internet. She said: "I am not into reading books, and I cannot

do that (searching information through the internet) (because) I am old" (Jombang, 17th August 2018).

Bu Fina, a Muslimat NU member from Bantul also preferred to ask a *kyai* or *nyai* from a *pesantren.* In her opinion, the development of media accelerates people who do not attend *pesantren* to become an *ustaz* or *ustazah.* Religious figures from *pesantren* become less popular, on the contrary, those who do not attend *pesantren* education become more popular. She said that the information she found on the internet may come from these new religious figures. Therefore, she avoided seeking information regarding religious matters on the internet. She said, "Many religious figures who do not have *pesantren* background appear. I do not underestimate them. Many of them, however, convey inappropriate information about Islamic knowledge. Sometimes, they use Google as their reference instead of yellow books written by ulama" (Bantul, 4th July 2018). This statement is similar to that written by Jinan:

> The new media also have supported the acceleration of the so-called ulama rejuvenation. This is because a person does not necessarily graduate from Islamic schools to be ulama […] The negative side of this new media is the loosening filter for the emergence of a wide variety of religious interpretations that, to some extent, go uncontrolled without limitation (Jinan, 2013).

Some narratives told by the Muslimat NU members in this section show that although books are easily available, and the use of global media and information technologies has become ubiquitous, many of the Muslimat NU members still prefer to discuss their religious issues to local religious figures. This phenomenon occurs because of their trust in *kyai* or *nyai.* According to Nielsen (2019)., as noted in chapter One, in relation to the obedience of command in the concept of authority, "official Islam" authorities may not actually be very authoritative if they have little influence over how lay Muslims choose to practice their faith. On the other hand, those with no official position can be more authoritative if they have greater influence.

7.4.3 Local Religious Authority Figures

As noted earlier, local religious figures play important roles as interpreters of religious knowledge and practice. Geertz considers local religious figure as a 'cultural broker' who attempts to combine his role as a traditional religious scholar and nationalist politician (Geertz, 1960). Thus, religious authority figure plays a strategic role in different aspects within Indonesian society, such as social, political, and economic (Zulkifli, 2013). Among the Muslimat NU communities both in Jombang and Bantul, those who have a strong relationship with *pesantren,* such as *kyai* or *nyai,* are mostly recognised as religious authority figures. These figures are considered informal religious authority as discussed in chapter One.

Most of the Muslimat NU members I interviewed in Jombang referred to local *kyai* or *nyai* regarding religious issues they faced daily. Bu Lilis (Jombang 9th March 2018) and Bu Tika (Jombang, 17th August 2018) for instance, told me that they always ask a local *kyai*

or *nyai* for religious matters. As well as the Muslimat NU members in Jombang, the members of this organization in Bantul preferred to turn to local *kyai* or *nyai* regarding religious issues such as Bu Atik and Bu Ira. When I asked Bu Atik, she said:

> I refer to *bu nyai*. When I face religious or other problems, I go to *pesantren* (where bu *nyai* lives) to see her. Some songs or hadiths indicate that we must find the right solution if we have a problem. We can find the right solution by finding someone who can give us advice and solve the problem. However, we cannot go to anyone […] I prefer to share my problem with *kyai* or his wife because they understand religious matters. Besides, they are experienced, refer to the Qur'an and hadiths and the statements of ulama (Bantul, 8th July 2018).

Bu Ira also told me that she seeks religious guidance from local *nyai*s "I ask Bu Nyai Nafis and Bu Nyai Ida (both are *nyai*s from her neighbourhood)" (Bantul, 8th May 2018).

Many Muslims in Indonesia do not only consult with local *kyai* or *nyai* concerning religious matters, but they also discuss other issues with them. They go to local *kyai* or *nyai* whenever they need guidance. For example, they often ask a suitable name for their new born child or discuss an appropriate time for a *walimahan* etc. (Machasin, 2010, p. 116). This phenomenon is common within the Muslimat NU community. The story of Bu Atik above is one of the instances. When she had religious or other problems, she turned to a *kyai* or *nyai* to get his/her advice and guidance. Besides Bu Atik, another member from Jombang, Bu Lilis went to three *kyai*s looking for guidance to decide her son's future "When my son graduated from Islamic senior high school (*Madrasah Aliyah*), he was confused whether he should continue his study (to a university) or not. A *kyai* advised me that it was better for my son to memorize the Qur'an and continue his study later […] I asked three *kyai*s about this matter" (Jombang, 9th March 2018).

7.5 Women's Religious Authority Position within the NU Organization

Within the organizational structure of LBMNU as the NU's formal religious authority institution, women of NU had no position at the regional and provincial levels. Only male ulama hold power and authority to make official religious decisions in the regional and provincial LBMNU. However, the authority of these female ulama was equal to the authority of their male counterparts within the central LBMNU. For example, some Muslimat NU members were invited to the *Munas Alim Ulama* forum at the national level. There, they had the same right to voice their opinions and arguments. In the period 2015 to 2020, Huzaemah Tahido Yanggo was chosen as a member of the advisory boards of this institution. From 2022 to 2027, four female ulama were appointed as the board members of this institution. They had the same responsibility to discuss and make decisions related to the *maudlūʿiyyah*, *wāqiʿiyyah* and *qānūniyyah* religious issues. These phenomena indicate that women do not always have less authority in religious matters within the patriarchal religious organizations.

Within the NU organization, a few women gained a position of informal religious authority in the local contexts. Unlike the Aisyiyah religious authority figures, the authority

of female religious figures of NU both in Jombang and Bantul was equal to their male counterparts within women-only and mixed-gender participants. Both Bu *nyai*s of this study provided religious lessons among women-only or mixed-gender participants. Similarly, *kyai*s were invited to provide religious lessons or led religious rituals within women-only or mixed-gender audiences. The Muslimat NU communities I interviewed also referred to *kyai*s and *nyai*s for religious and non-religious issues. On the other hand, in the women-only life cycle, some calendrical, and occasional rituals, the authority of female religious figures was higher. For instance, during my fieldwork, a *selapanan* ceremony, *yasinan* and *khatmul Qur'an* events in Jombang and Bantul were always led by female religious authority figures. Likewise, the authority of male religious figures was higher among men-only or mixed audiences in the above rituals.

7.6 The Lived Experience of Four Local Religious Authority Figures

7.6.1 Two *Ustazahs* from Jombang and Bantul

Hajjah Siswatiningdyah Amri often called Bu Amri, was a chairwoman of the regional executive of Aisyiyah in Jombang. My first encounter with her was during a *pengajian* in the Arroudhoh mosque. She then invited me to her house a few days later to have an in-depth conversation regarding the Aisyiyah organization in Jombang, its program and activities, as well as her experience as one of the Aisyiyah *ustazah*s. Even when being in her seventies, she went from one place to another, particularly within the regency of Jombang to give religious lectures and do her duty as the chairwoman of the regional Aisyiyah organization.

Bu Amri graduated from a senior high school in Jombang. She neither comes from a Muhammadiyah family nor has been a member of Aisyiyah from a long time ago. She told me how she became a member of Aisyiyah:

> I was not a member of Aisyiyah before. My husband was the head of the sub-district (*camat*) in the regency of Jombang. In the past, it was (the position of his husband) called *wedana,* the assistant of regent (*pembantu bupati*). Unlike me, who did not attend Muhammadiyah school, my husband studied at the Muhammadiyah schools. As the wife of the *pembantu bupati*, I actively participated in PKK. In 1998, there was a study conducted by the Aisyiyah community. One of the Muhammadiyah leaders was the *ustaz,* who delivered Islamic knowledge. I participated in the study regularly, from which I became acquainted with the Asiyiyah community. Maybe because I routinely joined the study, so an Aisyiyah administrator at that time recruited me to become one of the administrators at the Majelis Tabligh. Over time, I was chosen as the chairwoman of the *Pimpinan Cabang Aisyiyah* at the sub-district level. After that, I became the leader of the *Pimpinan Daerah Aisyiyah* as it is today (Jombang, 26th February 2018).

Bu Amri gained her Islamic knowledge mostly from *pengajian* held by the Aisyiyah or Muhammadiyah organization. Besides, she read from several kinds of literature she was acquainted with. Despite Bu Amri's lack of formal education or training in Islamic

institutions, she often invoked canonical sources in her lessons taken from various Islamic books she read.

Bu Amri was known to be a 'strict' person, especially related to religious issues. When delivering a religious lecture, she always instilled the audiences to come back to the Qur'an and hadith. In her opinion, if a religious practice or tradition does not have strong arguments, the practice and tradition should not be performed because they will be rejected by God. She justified her opinion by a *hadith* that the Prophet said: "He who does an act which we have not commanded, will have it rejected (by Allah)".[89] According to Bu Amri, the characteristic of the Aisyiyah organization is "progressive Islam", which means that the members of Aisyiyah should purify the faith and religious practices from non-Islamic cultures. To achieve this goal, the members should have a strong foundation of monotheism (Ar., *Tauhīd,* Ind*., tauhid*) and base their actions on the Qur'an and hadith.

Bu Amri devoted herself to Islam. She attempted to implement the Islamic teachings she knew and motivated the Aisyiyah community to do so. Once, I joined a regular *pengajian* of the Aisyiyah community taught by Bu Amri at the Assyafi'iyyah mosque Jombatan village Jombang sub-district. It was a few days before *Idul Adha*. The *pengajian* was usually conducted at the evening, but it was delayed because Bu Amri, as the *ustazah,* had another activity at one of the Aisyiyah branches in Jombang. After *maghrib* prayer, the *pengajian* was started. Bu Amri was fasting and had not broken the fast, so one of the Aisyiyah members went to a shop nearby to buy a bottle of mineral water and cake. She drank the water, took the cake and asked one of the community members to begin the *pengajian* by reading some Qur'anic verses. Before she continued delivering the material of the *pengajian,* she reminded the Aisyiyah community that they were at the first ten days of the *Zulhijjah* month. She said that the first ten days of *Zulhijjah* month are the most blessed days to do religious acts and good deeds. Fasting, reading the Qur'an, and giving *sedekah* are among the good deeds. She read some *hadiths* which supported her explanation and showed them to the audience. A few days prior to the *Idul Adha* festival, she encouraged the community to start fasting and do other religious acts the day after the *pengajian.*

[89] The hadith mentioned by Bu Amri is narrated by al-Bukhārī and Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj. See (An-Nawawī, 2007, chapter 18, hadith number 169).



Figure 5: Bu Amri delivering a religious lecture among the Aisyiyah community (Jombang, 17th August 2018)

Bu Munjiyah, sometimes known as Bu Fathoni (refers to the name of her husband),[90] is a native of Bantul. At more than seventy years old, she was actively delivering Islamic teaching in many places, led a religious ritual, and became the regular *ustazah* of the Qur'an recitation and study program among the Ummul Mukminat and Ummahatul Mukminin communities in the Kasihan sub-district. When I asked about her trajectory as the regular *ustazah* among the Ummul Mukminat and Ummahatul Mukminin communities, Bu Munjiyah shared how she received Islamic knowledge. Bu Munjiyah attended the State religious teacher education (*Pendidikan Guru Agama Negeri, PGAN*) from 1960 to 1967 before continuing her diploma in 1990s at IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta (now UIN Yogyakarta). Bu Munjiyah received her bachelor's degree in Islamic education from the University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta in 2001. In addition, her fluency in Islamic knowledge was self-acquired from Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah *pengajian* and reading Islamic books.

After finishing her study at PGAN, she became a teacher at the Muhammadiyah elementary school in the regency of *Kota* Yogyakarta. In 1984, she moved to Tirtonirmolo village Kasihan sub-district Bantul regency and became a teacher in the local

[90] In Indonesia, married woman is often called by the name of her husband. For example, the wife of President Joko Widodo is called Bu Joko Widodo while her real name is Bu Iriana.

Muhammadiyah Junior High School. After moving to Tirtonirmolo village, Bu Munjiyah initiated to form a Qur'an recitation tutorial which later changed to the Qur'an recitation and study program. She shared her memories with me:

> At first, we thought about the teacher (for the Qur'an recitation and study program), but people asked me to be the teacher. Then, I discussed this matter with my religious teacher supervisor (*Pengawas guru agama*). I was encouraged in teaching if there was a guide. For example, I could use a book of *tafsir*. Moreover, he said that I had learned the Arabic language, so it was easier (for me) to understand the Arabic text.

Bu Munjiyah was born into a Muhammadiyah family. Her father was a staff at a *Kantor Urusan Agama* and had actively participated in the Muhammadiyah *pengajian* during his lifetime. So was her mother, who joined the Aisyiyah activities until before she passed away. Apart from the educational institutions she attended, the Muhammadiyah or Aisyiyah *pengajian* surrounding her place, and reading Islamic books, Bu Munjiyah received her religious education from her parents. Since 2000, she has been a member of Tabligh council at the *Pimpinan Wilayah Aisyiyah* in Yogyakarta and actively participated in many Aisyiyah organization activities within the regency of Bantul and the province of Yogyakarta.

Although Bu Munjiyah came from a Muhammadiyah family and is an Aisyiyah activist, her parents taught her to respect other religious organizations. She said that when she was a child, a guest came to her house and performed *salat* in the prayer room of her house. The images of the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations were hung on the wall of the prayer room. The guest asked her father whether her father was a member of Muhammadiyah or NU because there were images of both organizations. Her father replied that both Muhammadiyah and NU were Islamic organizations, and all Muslims were family. The lesson about respecting other people, especially Muslims from different religious organizations, greatly influenced the life of Bu Munjiyah. For instance, while delivering Islamic teaching or giving religious advice, she attempted to appreciate the existing religious practices done by other Muslim communities if they are good. During one of her lessons among the Ummul Mukminat community, she explained that she practised a *doa* usually read by the NU community before having a meal.

> There was particular prayer before eating such as "*Allāhumma bārik lanā fīmā razaqtanā* (O Allah, bless the food you provided us)". This *doa* was still practised by many people, including the NU members. Majelis Tarjih decided that reading "*Bismillāh* (In the name of God)" before eating was enough, but I still read "*Allāhumma bārik lanā..*". In my opinion, the meaning of the *doa* was good. People might read *bismillāh* but reading "*Allāhumma bārik lanā…*" was also alright (Bantul, 29 April 2018).



Figure 6: Bu Munjiyah led the recitation of the Qur'an among the Ummul Mukminat community (Bantul, 29th April 2018)

7.6.2 Two *Nyais* from Jombang and Bantul

During my fieldwork, I had a chance to interview two *nyai*s who had an essential role within their local community, particularly among the Muslimat NU members. One of them lived in Jombang and managed her own *pesantren* with her husband. She was Bu Nyai Um, the *nyai* of *Pesantren* As-Saidiyah Bahrul Ulum Tambak Beras the sub-district of Jombang the regency of Jombang. Bu Faicha, a Muslimat NU member from Jombang, said that she often discusses various problems, religious or non-religious, with Bu Nyai Um (Jombang, 20th February 2018). The other *nyai* was Bu Nyai Ida, a *nyai* of *pesantren* Krapyak in the Panggungharjo village Sewon sub-district the regency of Bantul. Bu Ira and Bu Ulya, the Muslimat NU members in the Panggungharjo village were among the local Muslimat NU communities who referred to Bu Nyai Ida when they faced problems in their life.

Bu Nyai Um

Umdatul Choirot, mostly known as Ning Um or Bu Nyai Um, was born in April 1961 in Jombang. She is part of the family that runs the *Pesantren* Bahrul Ulum Tambak Beras in Jombang. This is one of the city's oldest *pesantren*s. Bu Nyai Um traced her family's genealogy to Kyai Chasbullah, the father of Kyai Wahab Chasbullah, one of the founders of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization. She attended formal school in Jombang before continuing her study at the State Islamic University of Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta in 1981. Apart from formal education, Bu Nyai Um learned Islamic studies and *kitab kuning* from her father, the

leader of *Pesantren* Assaidiyah 1 Bahrul Ulum, and attended informal education in some *pesantren*s. Bu Nyai Um was married to *kyai* Hasan in 1985. After her father passed away, she and her husband managed her father's *pesantren*, Assaidiyah 1, before founding their own *pesantren* Assaidiyah II in the same village.

Bu Nyai Um has occupied various positions within the NU organization and local Muslim society. She was the vice chairwoman of the Fatayat NU organization in Jombang from 1995 until 2004. After occupying this position, she did not continue her career in the Fatayat NU or Muslimat NU organizational structure. Instead, she was involved in *dakwah* and educational activities. She was appointed as board of *Rabithah Ma'ahid al-Islamiyah Nahdlatul Ulama* at the National level, coordinator of gender study forum in Jombang, supervisor of some *pesantren*s in Indonesia, head of Islamic senior high school (*Madrasah Aliyah al-I'dadiyah* (MAI,) Bahrul Ulum, teacher at State Islamic Junior High School (*Madrasah Tsnawiyah Negeri*, MTsN) Tambak Beras, and lecturer at K.H.A. Wahab Hasbullah University (Universitas Wahab Hasbullah, UNWAHA) in Jombang. Bu Nyai Um was also involved in the establishment of some educational institutions such as *pesantren* Assaidiyah II, Roudhotul Mujawwidin high school, *pesantren* Bayt Qur'an, and the development of Sunan Kalijogo Mosque in Jombang. Besides, she managed some *Majelis Taklims* such as *Majelis Taklim* As-Stayyibat and *Majelis Taklim* Kitab Kifayatul Atqiya' in Jombang. In addition to the positions and activities above, Bu Nyai Um also followed some training to become an ulama. For instance, she joined the ulama cadre program, namely Pendidikan dan *Pengembangan Wawasan Keulamaan* abbreviated as PPWK.[91] She followed female ulama congresses and workshops on gender and women's rights organized by Rahima or other institutions.

Bu Nyai Um became a religious figure and was involved in *dakwah* activities since she was a member of the Fatayat NU organization. At the time of my fieldwork, she actively delivered a religious lecture among women attendees and mix-gender participants. She told me that her *dakwah* focused on delivering Islam as a merciful religion to all creation (*raḥmatan li al-'ālamīn*). Bu Nyai Um attempted to fight for women's rights and interpreted some Qur'anic verses regarding gender equality. For instance, she said that the word *rijāl* (the plural form of *rajul* means men) from *surah an-Nisa'* verse 34 could be interpreted as more powerful people regardless of their sex. Therefore, women can be the leaders of their households instead of men if they hold more power. She was often invited to speak regarding women's rights in many places. For instance, she was asked to talk about women's reproduction rights in the Philippines in 1997. At the beginning of 2022, she wrote an Islamic song entitled '*al-madḥu li Khadījah al-Kubrā*'. She described how women in Islam, such as Khadijah, the wife of the Prophet Muhammad, have essential roles not only in the domestic but in the public sphere (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LqkESCvJh50).

Bu Nyai Um also tried to negotiate Islamic texts in the local contexts. She shared her experiences regarding this matter.

[91] PPWK is organized by Institute for the Study and Development of Human Resources (Lakpesdam) of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization. The participants of this program are prepared to become the boards of NU, in particular, NU Syuriah.

> I try to explain to our society, in particular the members of Muslimat NU, that there are Islamic teachings, cultures, religious tenets which become local traditions, and local traditions which are modified by inserting religious teachings […] *walimahan* celebration is usually held by the family of the bride (In many places in Java). This practice comes from a local tradition because in Islam, the command to hold a *walimahan* ceremony is addressed to the groom. It is narrated in a hadith that the Prophet said, "Give a *walīmah*, even with one sheep" […] It should be the groom or his family who fund the celebration. However, the practice within our society is based on the agreement of the groom and bride. That is alright, but I try to explain which practice comes from local culture and which comes from Islamic texts […] educating society is not easy. It takes time and needs a lot of effort and patience

In giving religious advice, Bu Nyai Um attempted to consider the context of the person she spoke to. Sometimes, she gave her own opinion. At other times, she delivered the *fatwa*s issued by the LBM-NU. She said, "Sometimes, I give a printed paper issued by the NU organization, but sometimes I answer people's questions from my own knowledge and experience" (Jombang, 20 February 2018).

Bu Nyai Ida

Ida Fatimah, famous as Bu Nyai Ida Fatimah Zainal was born in Bangil Pasuruan East Java in 1952. Her parents were local religious figures. Her father was a Nahdlatul Ulama activist and religious figure, while her mother was a Muslimat NU activist and female preacher (Ar., *dā' iyyah*, Ind., *da'iyah*). Since she was a child, she grew up watching her parents being involved in religious and social activities, particularly within the Nahdlatul Ulama and Muslimat NU organizations. Bu Nyai Ida attended junior high school in Pasuruan and senior high school in Surabaya before continuing her study in Yogyakarta. She got her bachelor's and master's degree from the Islamic University of Indonesia (Universitas Islam Indonesia, UII). Apart from formal education, she learned Islamic studies, particularly *kitab kuning* and Islamic knowledge from some *pesantren*s in Pasuruan and Yogyakarta, such as *pesantren* Nurussalam in the regency of Bantul and *pesantren* Pandanaran in the regency of Sleman. Bu Nyai Ida was married to *kyai* Zainal Abidin Munawwir, one of the great ulama in Yogyakarta and the author of many Islamic books, especially in the field of the *qirāat* knowledge (*ilmu qiraat*)[92] and Islamic jurisprudence. The husband of Bu Nyai Ida, Kyai Zainal Abidin, was the descendants of Kyai Hasan Basri who was the adjutant of Diponegoro prince from the Mataram Sultanate. Moreover, his grandfather was a royal servant of the Yogyakarta palace (Syamsuddin, 2014, p. 4). Bu *Nyai* Ida and her husband managed a *pesantren* namely al-Munawwir at the Panggungharjo village Sewon sub-district Bantul regency. After her husband passed away, she continued to lead the *pesantren*.

[92] According to Ibn al-Jazārī, Q*irāat* knowledge is "A knowledge discusses on the method and procedure of mentioning a word/phrase al-Qur'an and disputes that occur with reference to its narrators" (Hadi, A. Z. S. A et al., 2018).

Before becoming a Muslimat NU activist, Bu Nyai Ida was the chairwoman of the IPPNU during her days in junior high school in Pasuruan. She continued her career in the IPPNU organization during her study at Khadijah senior high school in Surabaya. Then, she became an activist of the Fatayat NU and board of Muslimat NU as the chairwoman of the Muslimat NU in Bantul, then a member of the Dakwah institution at the provincial level. In 1998, she was involved in one of the Islamic based political parties, Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB, The National Awakening Party), established by members of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization and was elected as a member of parliament. In 2022, Bu Nyai Ida was appointed as a member of the *a'wan* of the PBNU. Bu Nyai Ida was not only known for her activities as the Muslimat NU and NU board and parliament member, but she was also known for her *dakwah* activities among the Muslimat NU and NU communities in particular as well within Muslim inhabitants in the Yogyakarta province. She told me that teaching and preaching is her hobby. Since she was a child, she has enjoyed preaching. In addition to *dakwah* activities, she taught students in her own *pesantren.* She shared this story with me:

> Since I was pregnant with my first child, I have been involved in *dakwah* activities. My (late) husband was an activist, so he supported my *dakwah* activities. He said there are many good deeds, and teaching others is among these good acts […] I deliver religious lectures regularly every Friday *Kliwon* at the Muslimat NU branch in the Sewon sub-district. On Friday *Pahing,* I teach the Muslimat NU members and other women in this neighbourhood. On Thursday evening before Friday W*age*, I have a regular *pengajian* at the *musalla* of al-Ikhlas […] In the past, I also taught the community of women at the Kafana shop once in two weeks […] I use a particular book in a regular *pengajian* such as "*Risālah al-Muʿāwanah", Naṣāiḥ al-ʿIbād", "Waṣiyyah al-Muṣṭafā"* […] However, if I am invited to particular events such as *maulid Nabi*, *rajab*, etc. (Islamic festivals), the material can be adapted to the theme of the events. I choose some Qur'anic verses and hadiths related to the themes and explain why such events are good to be conducted […] If someone invites me (to deliver religious lecture) on the occasions of marriage, childbirth, etc., I also provide material according to the theme of the occasions (Bantul, 29 August 2018)

In giving religious lectures or advice, Bu Nyai Ida attempted to consider the social context of the audience and tried to give related arguments they needed. She said:

> We have to consider the context of the people, their characteristics, beliefs, or customs […] in the life cycle rituals, I often explain to the audience the argument of reading *surah Yāsīn* or why we should maintain a particular tradition […] as one of the representatives of *dakwah* institution (within the Muslimat NU community), we often organize a training for *da'iyah*s. Among the materials of the training are regarding the way the *da'iyah* deal with their society and how they should provide convincing arguments (Bantul, 29 August 2018)

In the opinion of Bu Nyai Ida, Indonesian Muslims are heterogeneous. Every community practices their religious rituals differently. Therefore, they should respect each other (Bantul, 29 August 2018).

7.7 The Position of Islamic Religious Authority: Some opportunities and individual agency

In this section, I discuss how the lived experience of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women of this study relate to their success in gaining recognition as religious authorities. Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah are two Aisyiyah *ustazahs* from different areas. Bu Amri is from Jombang in East Java province and Bu Munjiyah is from Bantul Yogyakarta province. These two *ustazahs* occupy different positions within the Muhammadiyah organization. The former was the chairwoman of the Aisyiyah organization in Jombang, while the latter was the member of the provincial Majelis Tabligh of Aisyiyah. Although both did not regard themselves as ulama who were sufficiently qualified to conduct *ijtihad* in Islamic matters, both were recognized by their Aisyiyah local communities as female ulama. Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah engaged in Islamic teaching, led some religious rituals, and actively participated in various public activities within the local Aisyiyah communities. Furthermore, many Aisyiyah members and sympathizers in Jombang referred to Bu Amri for religious advice. Likewise, Ummul Mukminat and Ummahatul Mukminin communities in Bantul went to Bu Munjiyah for discussing their religious and personal issues with her.

Similar to Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah, Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida are recognised by local Muslimat NU communities in Jombang East Java and Bantul Yogyakarta as *nyai*s whom they referred for religious issues. Bu Nyai Um occupied a position as the board of *Rabithah Ma'ahid al-Islamiyah* in the Nahdlatul Ulama organization. At the same time, Bu Nyai Ida was the chairwoman of the regional Muslimat NU in Bantul and a member of the *dakwah* institution of the Muslimat NU in Yogyakarta. In addition, she was elected as the representative of The National Awakening Party in the Provincial People's Representatives Council (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah I, DPRD I). Bu Nyai Um and bu Nyai Ida managed and became the leaders of some *pesantrens, majelis taklims* and were involved in *dakwah* activities. Both were engaged in Islamic teachings, led Islamic rituals and participated in various activities among the Muslimat NU communities and NU communities. Although they did not sit as representatives of formal religious authority institutions within the NU, both were considered religious authority figures within the NU communities in general and Muslimat NU members in particular.

The question is, how do their lived experiences relate to their success in achieving recognition as Islamic religious authorities or female ulama within the Muhammadiyah and Muslimat NU organization?

7.7.1 Muhammadiyah and the Space for Women

As described in chapter Four, up until the beginning of the twentieth century when the Aisyiyah organization was born, most women lacked education. The opportunity to receive advanced education, both secular and Islamic were limited to men or wealthy people. Consequently, women had less access to public spaces and were almost subordinate to men. The Kauman village, where the Muhammadiyah organization was founded, was known as

residences of pious Muslims (Peacock, 2017, p. 30). Women in this place had limited access to non-formal Islamic education. They were allowed to attend *pengajian* in the mosque near the palace of Yogyakarta or at the house of some *kyai*s. However, many parents in the Kauman village considered female education at schools not important. Besides, the parents feared moral consequences for mixed gender activities when their daughters spent long hours with boys at school. Sex segregation was a common phenomenon at that time. The backwardness of women condition challenged K.H.A. Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah. Based on his understanding of some Qur'anic verses and hadiths, he believed that Islam gives equal rights and positions for men and women. Therefore, He and his wife took an initiative to empower women through education. He sent some girls to formal schools and formed a women-only *pengajian* which then evolved into the Aisyiyah organization, the women branch of the Muhammadiyah organization.

Alfian (1989, p. 172) argues that since the beginning of the Aisyiyah's establishment, Muhammadiyah has provided sufficient advanced space for its female members to take part in the public sphere. In addition, believing in equal rights for men and women, Muhammadiyah has built a space for women and gives an opportunity for them to achieve a leadership position, in particular status as an Islamic religious authority. In 1923, a *musalla* for women was built in the Kauman village, creating an opportunity for the Aisyiyah women to gather, share their ideas, and form a network for religious knowledge. This atmosphere may acquire significance for the Aisyiyah women as some come to be seen as experts in Islam and gain a position as female ulama by being Islamic teachers, preachers, or others. Together with the Aisyiyah women, Ahmad Dahlan initiated the emergence of female *muballigat*, which was very rare previously, by facilitating and supporting some necessary training for the Aisyiyah women. By 1938, Aisyiyah had produced more than 2,000 *muballigat*s and ran many girls' schools (Hawary, 2020).

Creating a space for women not only gives the Aisyiyah members opportunity to achieve a position as Islamic religious authority, but it also benefits the Muhammadiyah organization. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, modernization has occurred in the Indonesian context and women have become more influential and have occupied a more diverse role in society. At the same time, the mixed-gender sphere was not common and was condemned within 'pious' Muslim society such as among the Kauman village residents. Giving the Aisyiyah women such opportunity enabled the Muhammadiyah organization to reach new audiences and expand its ideas among Muslim women. Furthermore, these women leaders were expected to support the agendas of the organization.

Both Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah began their 'career' as *ustazah* through spheres created by the Muhammadiyah, particularly women-only gathering within the local Aisyiyah communities, and training given by the organization. In addition, Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah achieved entrance to the patriarchal field because the Muhammadiyah attempted to empower women and address its bias towards gender equality. However, this attempt does not assist Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah to the extent that they get a position as Islamic religious authority. Instead, their agency plays an important role related to this status and recognition as ulama, particularly among local Aisyiyah communities.

7.7.2 Advanced Islamic Education, the Awareness of Women and Some Opportunities Created by NU

As indicated by Van Doorn Harder (2006), "a great part of the transmission of the Islamic faith and knowledge for traditionalist Islam takes place in the *pesantren*" (p. 166). *Pesantren*, where the traditionalist Muslims centre their education process, and the traditionalist NU organization was established, has been the place for transmitting advanced knowledge of Islam and preserving the customs of traditionalist Islam. Most importantly, it has been the place for the training of ulama. As noted in chapters One and Three, until the 1910s, Muslim women were not allowed to take part in *pesantren* education. In 1919, Kyai Bisri, who established *pesantren* Denanyar in Jombang, and his wife invited some girls from their neighbourhood to learn Islamic knowledge informally at her house within the *pesantren* area. Ulum (2017) states that by developing women's *pesantren*, *kyai* Bisri was aware of the importance of gender equality. Nevertheless, van Doorn Harder indicates that the motivation of *kyai* Bisri was not necessarily to emancipate women. She says, "he was opposed to women gaining influence in political and other public activities but reasoned that staying in the *pesantren* would prevent them from being too free" (p. 174). Regardless of the motivation of *kyai* Bisri, his initiative to give a place for women in the *pesantren* education encouraged other *pesantren*s to follow his path. Since 1930, female students were accepted in some *pesantren*s such as *pesantren* Tebu Ireng and *pesantren* Tambak Beras in Jombang. Furthermore, at the NU *muktamar* in 1934, the NU organization issued a decision allowing women for formal education. Through advanced knowledge of Islam studied in *pesantren* particularly, traditionalist Muslim women were provided opportunity to participate in maintaining the NU tradition and play roles outside their domestic setting.

After the establishment of the NU organization, traditionalist Muslim women did not have a place within the organization. The situation changed, however, after the thirteenth NU *muktamar* in Menes Banten in 1938. At this conference, Nyai Djuaesih, the wife of H. Bustomi, one of the NU activists who participated her husband in this *muktamar,* felt the need to voice her view regarding the equality of women. She said that in Islam, religious and non-religious knowledge are not only intended for men. She advocated for women to have equal opportunities for education. Nyai Djuaesih became the first woman to speak in the official forum of the NU. Her speech fascinated the audiences of the *muktamar.* She suggested that women take part as official members and boards of the NU organization. However, the idea to give women an official position in the NU organization was debatable among the participants of the NU *muktamar* (as described in chapter Four). Finally, during the sixteenth NU *muktamar* in 1946 in Purwokerto, women of NU had an official place in the NU organization. In 1952, the Muslimat NU, as the women's branch of the Nahdlatul Ulama, was given the status as one of the autonomous bodies of the NU organization. Since then, other autonomous bodies for women were established within the NU, such as Fatayat NU which was established in 1952 and IPPNU, which was founded in 1955. The awareness of women's backwardness and some spaces created by the NU organization provide a much greater opportunity for women to gain a position in the NU organization. In addition, since

the establishment of these women organizations, female members of NU can manage their own activities. Public religious activities such as women-mostly *pengajian* or *majelis taklim,* for example, are held from the village to the national levels.

The spaces created for the women of NU become the vehicles for the emergence of female religious authority within the Nahdlatul Ulama organization. Furthermore, these spaces can be a stepping stone to expand the career of the NU women into mixed-gender audiences. However, this circumstance alone cannot secure the legitimacy of women to speak for Islam. The individual efforts of the NU women cannot be underestimated. The right to assert authority depends on the agency of these NU women. Rinaldo (2013), for instance, argues that women's religious knowledge and their use of religious practices and discourses is one of the keys to their legitimacy as a religious authority in the public spaces.

7.7.3 The Accumulation of Symbolic Capital

Bourdieu compared a field to a game that has rules and regularities. Individual agents who enter this field hold particular capital as the weapon which they use to compete with others. This capital determines the position each agent takes up and the moves the agent makes. One's success within a field refers to the number of capital in accordance with the field he/she has. The capital represents power over the field. The more capital he/she possesses or has, the higher are the chances he/she can achieve the dominant position. In addition, the individual's success refers to how compatible their habitus is with the field's habitus. In other words, one's feel for the game has to match with the game itself.

As noted in chapters One and Three, the position of Islamic religious authority is achieved by utilizing different supporting capital that individuals use as a weapon. Islamic religious authority capital is a mix of the two types of capital, cultural and social. In most Muslim societies, one may be recognized as Islamic religious authority through mastering Islamic knowledge, having the ability to interpret Islamic texts, making a religious decision, having a good character and social network (see chapter One). Likewise, in the Indonesian context, individual agents need to accumulate a symbolic capital mix of cultural and social capital. For instance, they should master Islamic knowledge, particularly *fikih* and have good conduct. Besides, they have to maintain a good relationship with people at the grassroots level and engage in religious activities among Muslim societies (see chapter Three). This aspect is one of the most important factors in establishing female ulama authority, as Ismah (2016) highlighted.

Within the Muhammadiyah community, as mentioned by Sjahlan Rosyidi (1989), mastering Islamic knowledge is not the only requirement to become an ulama. Instead, to become an ulama, one should implement Islamic teachings in his/her daily life. Like the statement of Rosyidi, Syamsul Anwar (2019) mentions several things in order to be recognized as ulama within the Muhammadiyah organization. For instance, mastering one or more forms of Islamic knowledge, having good conduct in daily life, involving in various religious activities among the Muhammadiyah communities, and having proficiency in Arabic or English (see chapter Four).

On the other hand, within the Nahdlatul Ulama community, the cultural capital entails education or knowledge of Islamic teachings, in particular the mastery of *kitab kuning,* and piety. Meanwhile, the social capital refers to resources that individuals have based on their good relationship with the NU community, particularly at the grassroot level and other members of society. In addition, being a descendant of an ulama or a family member of *pesantren* possesses high status among the NU community, which influences the accumulation of the social capital and enhances the effects of cultural capital. Having the aforementioned capital may empower women of the NU organization and provide them with a form of agency to pursue their careers.

A position of Islamic religious authority within a patriarchal organization is not privileged linked to male Muslims. Females with the same resources may also achieve this position within the organization. In the historical context of religious authority in Islam, as described in chapters One and Three, women have entered and achieved a position of Islamic religious authority within the patriarchal contexts by having the aforementioned capital. Four women in this study were recognized as religious authorities by accumulating cultural and social capital in accordance with the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations respectively.

Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah

Both Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah owe their 'career' as informal religious authority figures to their own agency. Bu Amri accumulated symbolic capital needed to be recognized as Islamic religious authority within the Muhammadiyah community, particularly among the Aisyiyah community in Jombang. She has three different kinds of cultural capital. First, in an embodied form by having a good character or piety and implementing Islamic teachings. She was known among the local Aisyiyah community for her devoutness to Islamic teachings and implementation of Islamic principles, particularly Muhammadiyah's thoughts. The narrative of Bu Amri above shows this fact. Second, in an objectified form, such as achieving a certificate for training as the Aisyiyah *muballigat.* Third in an institutionalized form, by mastering Islamic knowledge through her long participation of the Aisyiyah *pengajian* and self-study. Among the local Aisyiyah community in Jombang, Bu Amri was known to be the *ustazah,* who knew the interpretation of the Qur'an and hadith. While visiting her house, she showed me her notes and materials she provided in *pengajian*. Although Bu Amri did not learn Arabic in an educational institution, she became accustomed to this language by participating in the Aisyiyah *pengajian* and reading Islamic Books in Arabic with the Indonesian translation. Besides cultural capital, Bu Amri demonstrates social capital. Although she is not from a Muhammadiyah family and is not an immediate family member of ulama, Bu Amri has a good network with the Aisyiyah, Muhammadiyah, and other Muslim communities in Jombang. She had joined in most of the Aisyiyah activities since 1998, especially in the regency of Jombang. In recent years, Bu Amri also managed some *pengajians* – with the Aisyiyah women becoming the majority of the participants – which allowed her to accumulate social capital.

Similarly, Bu Munjiyah accumulated symbolic capital, legitimising her Islamic religious authority status within the local Muhammadiyah community. She expressed cultural capital in various forms as well as social capital. In the embodied cultural form, Bu Munjiyah was known among the Aisyiyah community in the Kasihan sub-district as a pious Muslim. She was committed to the Islamic teachings and attempted to carry out *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* wherever she was. As described earlier in this chapter, forming the Ummul Mukminat community and managing a religious gathering were among her efforts to implement Islamic texts. In the objectified form, Bu Munjiyah acquired certificates from religious teaching institutions and higher Islamic learning institutions, IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta and the Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta in Islamic education. Apart from this, she also received several certificates for her participation in training programs such as *muballigat* training organized by Majelis Tabligh at the province level and *tarjih* training conducted by Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid. In the institutionalized form, Bu Munjiyah mastered some Islamic knowledge such as Qur'an and hadith interpretation. She was also familiar with the Arabic language as she was appointed to become an *ustazah* by the Ummul Mukminat community for her knowledge of Islam and Arabic language. Bu Munjiyah had been a member of Aisyiyah for a long time. She had been participating in the activities of the Aisyiyah organization since 1960s and became a teacher in the Muhammadiyah educational institution after completing her study at PGAN. Like Bu Amri, Bu Munjiyah also managed some *pengajians* for women and led some Islamic rituals in which she accumulated social capital.

Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah were recognized as *ustazah* through their active participation in the Aisyiyah's activities. Among the Aisyiyah activities they participated in were life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals. As noted in chapter Two, many scholars see ritual as a medium of power relationships. It is an instrument of domination and an arena of contesting authority (Dietler, 2011, p. 72). In these rituals, Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah could express and accumulate different forms of cultural capital. Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah had an important role in mediating the prescribed Islamic text and the present context of the local Aisyiyah communities. Their knowledge of Islamic text and its interpretation allowed them to have control over the ritual practices by making decisions and influencing others. Thus, Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah gained legitimation as other community members had access to the Islamic texts and their interpretation through both and were influenced by both. As Bell (2009) states, those who have control over ritual establish and maintain their domination among the participants of the rituals (p. 211). Their good behaviour was also observed by the participants on these ritual occasions. Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah also achieved social capital through these practices. These circumstances allowed them to develop a good social network and recognition within the Aisyiyah and Muhammadiyah communities. The higher the recognition Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah have within the Muhammadiyah, the higher the chances to gain a position. Besides being female ulama among their local communities, both expanded their influence in broader social life outside the Aisyiyah organization.

Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida

The symbolic capital Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida hold earns them recognition as religious authority within the Muslimat NU communities in particular and NU communities in general. Bu Nyai Um accumulated cultural capital in three different forms (embodied, objectified, and institutionalized). In the embodied form, Bu Nyai Um was a pious person who devoted herself to Islam. She attempted to learn Islamic teachings, read, and understand God's command in the Qur'an as well as hadith and implemented them in daily life. Moreover, she dedicated her life to the activities of *dakwah* by being a religious teacher, an Islamic preacher, and a *pesantren* leader. In the objectified form, Bu Nyai Um received various certificates from Islamic higher educational institutions, ulama training programs, and some workshops. In the institutionalized form, Bu Nyai Um mastered some kinds of Islamic knowledge, such as the interpretation of the Qur'an and hadith. She also read and taught various *kitab kunings* and had the ability to interpret religious texts. Besides cultural capital, Bu Nyai Um accumulated social resources. For instance, she came from a family of *pesantren,* her parents were a *kyai* and *nyai,* and she owned a *pesantren*. Moreover, she occupied various positions within the NU organization or its autonomous bodies, such as RMI and Fatayat NU. Bu Nyai Um also managed some *majelis taklims*. These circumstances allow her to have a good network within the NU organization, including the Muslimat NU.

Like Bu Nyai Um, Bu Nyai Ida accumulated symbolic capital, legitimising her status as an Islamic religious authority within the local NU community. She expressed cultural capital in various states as well as social capital. In the embodied cultural form, Bu Nyai Ida was known among the NU community in the sub-district of Sewon as a pious Muslim. She was committed to the Islamic teachings and attempted to implement them in her life. She was involved in various *dakwah* activities and was regarded as an exemplary Muslim among the pupils in her *pesantren*. In the objectified form, Bu Nyai Ida acquired certificates from higher Islamic learning institutions, UII Yogyakarta and some *pesantren*s. Besides, she received certificates for her participation in the *muballigat* training programs. In the institutionalized form, Bu Nyai Ida mastered some kinds of Islamic knowledge such as the Qur'an and hadith interpretation. Besides, she read and taught *kitab kuning* within her *pesantren* or local Muslimat NU members. Bu Nyai Ida had been a member of NU for a long time. She occupied some positions within the structure of the Muslimat NU and NU organizations as well as in the NU political party. She had been participating in the activities of the autonomous bodies of the NU organization such as IPPNU, Fatayat NU and Muslimat NU since she was in junior high school. Like Bu Nyai Um, Bu Nyai Ida also managed a *pesantren* and some *pengajians* for women or mixed-gender audiences, as well as led some Islamic rituals. These circumstances enable her to strengthen her network within the NU community and gain more social capital.

Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida are recognized as female ulama through their involvement in *dakwah* activities and participation in various public gatherings such as life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals. As noted in chapter Two, ritual is considered a medium of power relationships. It is an instrument of domination and an arena of establishing

or contesting authority (Begemann, E. et al., 2020; Dietler, 2001, p. 72). In these rituals, Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida could express and accumulate different forms of cultural capital. They participate in Islamic knowledge transmission through the above rituals, have an important role in negotiating the prescribed Islamic text and the present context of the local Muslimat NU communities, and attempt to redefine Islamic rituals in the local settings. Their knowledge of Islamic text and its interpretation allows them to have control over the ritual practices by making decisions and influencing others. Thus, Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida gain a degree of legitimacy as others have access to the Islamic text and its interpretation through both and are influenced by both. As Bell (2009) states, those, who have control over ritual establish and maintain their domination among the participants of the rituals (p. 211). Their good behaviour is also observed by the communities on these ritual occasions. Not only cultural capital is accumulated throughout these ritual practices, but Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida also achieve social capital since they develop a good social network and recognition within the Muslimat NU and NU communities. The higher the recognition Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida have within the NU, the higher the chances to gain a position. Besides being ulama among female members of the NU in their local communities, both expanded their influence among male members and outside the NU communities.

7.7.4 The Habitus of the Field and Agent

For Bourdieu, fields are arenas in which interactions take place, and individual agents struggle for power. The success of individual agents in achieving a particular position within a field depends not only on the capital in accordance with the field they have but also on the compatibility of their habitus with the field's habitus. The more the rules of the field are known, embodied, and followed, the greater the chances of success are (Joy et al., 2020, p. 13).

As mentioned in the previous section, Bu Amri's husband attended Muhammadiyah school and was a member of Muhammadiyah. Therefore, the Muhammadiyah organization was not new to her. Besides, since 1998 Bu Amri had been participating in the Aisyiyah *pengajian.* She not only knew the rules, views, and thoughts of the Muhammadiyah organization, but she also followed them. For instance, as she argued in the previous section that Muslim religious practices should be 'purified' from non-Islamic customs, which is one of the Muhammadiyah theological understandings. She went further and indicated that religious practice should not be performed if it is not justified by the Qur'an and Prophetic traditions. The call to return to the Qur'an and Sunnah, which is the core of the Muhammadiyah thought, always became her reference in daily life (Jombang, 26th February 2018). Besides following the rules of the Muhammadiyah in general, her habitus is compatible with the habitus of the Muhammadiyah community in Jombang. Her tastes, preferences, and behaviour match the Muhammadiyah community's tastes, preferences, and behaviour in Jombang. The habitus of the Muhammadiyah community in Jombang was similar to the habitus of the majority of the Muhammadiyah communities outside the Yogyakarta province, in particular regarding their attitude towards local customs. As noted

in chapter Four, the Muhammadiyah members in the Yogyakarta province tend to be more friendly to local Javanese culture than the Muhammadiyah members originating from other areas such as Minangkabau West Sumatra province, Pekalongan Central Java province, Paciran East Java province (Beck, 1995; Burhani, 2004, 2005; Qomar, 2021).

As for Bu Munjiyah, she came from a Muhammadiyah family and had been a member of the Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah organization for a long time. She knew the Muhammadiyah organization and its ideas very well. For example, her motivation to form a study group and deliver Islamic knowledge among her local communities was to implement Qur'anic verse 104 of *surah Ali 'Imrān amar makruf nahi munkar* which was famous as the motto of the Muhammadiyah organization. Another example is her familiarity with the Muhammadiyah views and argument regarding religious practices. Once, I asked her about women participation in a burial ritual. She said that according to the *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*, women are not allowed to join a burial ritual in the graveyard. This prohibition is justified by a hadith written in *Himpunan Putusan Tarjih* page 249 (Bantul, 9th November 2019). Like Bu Amri, the habitus of Bu Munjiyah was also compatible with the habitus of the Aisyiyah and Muhammadiyah community in Bantul.

As mentioned in the previous sections, Bu Nyai Um was the descendant of one of the founders of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization. She came from the *pesantren* circle where the customs of the traditionalist Islam of NU were preserved. Bu Nyai Um had been a member of the NU since she was young. She was actively engaged in the various NU or Muslimat NU activities. The habitus of the NU organization was embedded in her thoughts, behaviours, and preferences. For instance, Bu Nyai Um argued that local customs should be maintained as long as they are in accordance with Islamic teachings. Javanese life cycle rituals can be done as long as the practices are 'Islamic'. Moreover, Bu Nyai Um attempted to spread the tradition of the NU organization such as *yasinan* and *tahlilan* among local Muslim society.

Like Bu Nyai Um, Bu Nyai Ida came from the family of NU. Her parents were local religious figures and representatives of the NU and Muslimat NU organizations. She told me that she attended many NU and Muslimat NU gatherings with her parents when she was a child. Bu Nyai Ida spent most of her youth learning in the NU *pesantren*s before getting married to one of the NU famous *kyai*s. The habitus of the NU organization has been her habitus until now. For instance, like the view of the NU organization, Bu Nyai Ida thought that some Javanese life cycle rituals should not be abandoned. Instead, the practices in these rituals could be changed from 'non-Islamic' into 'Islamic'. In addition, she encouraged Muslims to preserve the tradition of the NU organization such as *yasinan* and *tahlilan* in various events. The compatibility of the habitus of Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida with the habitus of the NU communities has an essential role in achieving the status as religious authority within the NU communities.

7.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the position of female religious authority figures in Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU within the broader context of the Muhammadiyah and Aisyiyah organizations. I have also discussed how the lived experience of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women relate to their success in achieving position of a religious authority.

My findings reveal that women are subordinate within the formal religious authority institution of Muhammadiyah, *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid,* at the provincial and regional levels. The Aisyiyah women, both in Jombang and Bantul did not have positions in the provincial and regional *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*. Moreover, they lacked access to decision making processes related to religious issues in this formal religious authority institution. Nevertheless, at the national level, some female ulama have been appointed as members of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* since 1995. Their authority in making decisions related to religious issues in the central *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* is equal to the authority of male members. In the local contexts, a few members of Aisyiyah in Jombang and Bantul gained a position of informal religious authority. In Jombang, the Aisyiyah women had an equal authority to their male counterparts or more than them among women-only audiences. Nevertheless, they almost had no authority among male or mixed gender participants.

Similarly, the female ulama of Aisyiyah in Bantul had more authority compared to their male counterparts among women-only participants. Furthermore, many members referred to these female ulama for their religious problems. Within mixed-gender audiences, unlike the female religious authority in Jombang, the female religious authority in Bantul had limited religious authority. This different phenomenon might be due to the different habitus of the Muhammadiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul. The Muhammadiyah communities in Jombang were considered by many (as indicated in chapters Four and Six) more 'conservative' than the communities of this organization in Bantul. For instance, gender segregation was more apparent during the activities of the Muhammadiyah communities in Jombang.

Within the organizational structure of LBMNU as the NU's formal religious authority institution, women of NU had no position at the regional and provincial levels. Only male ulama held power and authority to make official religious decisions in the regional and provincial LBMNU. The authority of these female ulama, however, was equal to the authority of their male counterparts within the central LBMNU. Within the NU organization, a few women gained a position of informal religious authority in the local contexts. Unlike the Aisyiyah religious authority figures, the authority of female religious figures of NU both in Jombang and Bantul was equal to their male counterparts within women-only and mixed-gender participants. Likewise, the authority of male religious figures was higher among men-only or mixed audiences in the above rituals.

The findings in this chapter also show that the patriarchal Muslim organizations field in which the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women engage in, as well as their agency play important role in their success in gaining recognition as religious authorities. As discussed in chapter Two, the authority of women in patriarchal organizations is not given by the

organizations or because of their resistance to the organizations. As Nielsen (2019) argues, both patriarchal organizations and women's agency play important roles. Patriarchal movements create space or give women limited authority. On the other hand, women within the patriarchal movements do not only passively occupy positions of authority or endorse the patriarchal gender ideas, but they use their agency for gaining this position. Here, Muhammadiyah and NU created spaces and gave opportunities for the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women to gain a position of religious authority. Nevertheless, the agency of these women played essential roles in their success.

Bourdieu (1990; 1996; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) compared a field to a game that has rules and regularities. Individual agents who enter this field hold particular capital as the weapon which they use to compete with others. One's success within a field refers to the number of capital in accordance with the field he/she has. The capital represents power over the field. The more capital he/she possesses or has, the higher are the chances he/she can achieve the dominant position. In addition, the individual's success refers to how compatible their habitus is with the field's habitus. Through drawing on Bourdieu's theory, this study indicates that the success of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women refers to the symbolic capital in accordance with the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations they had. In addition, it concerns the compatibility of their habitus with the habitus of the patriarchal organizations. Through the Qur'anic recitation practices in the public life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals, these women accumulated and expressed the symbolic capital mixed of cultural and social. The compatibility of their habitus with the habitus of the organizations could be observed in the above rituals.

Chapter 8
The Agency and Roles of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU Women

8.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, the women in this study gain a position of religious authority through public rituals. Besides gaining recognition as religious authorities, the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women are active agents who exercise and express various kinds of agency and play roles within the patriarchal organizations through these rituals. One of the pivotal moments in the time I spent with the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities was learning about their attempt in negotiating religious texts, the Muhammadiyah and NU religious understandings, and different local contexts. In particular, I learned about how these women try to deal with the issue of acculturation when Islamic texts and Javanese customs meet related to the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals.

In this chapter, I focus on the attitude of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU religious authorities towards local cultures and their understanding of Islamic ritual. This chapter also aims to understand the way these women exercise agency and play roles in the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations. This chapter attempts to answer the fourth, fifth, and sixth sub questions of this study, they are:

- *Fourth, what is the attitude of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU religious authorities toward local cultures and how do these attitudes relate to their understanding of Islamic ritual and the Qur'an recitation practices?*
- *Fifth, how do women exercise agency through these rituals and what kinds of agency do they exhibit?*
- *Sixth, how do female religious authority figures play a role in the patriarchal organizations through these rituals?*

Apart from this introductory section (8.1), the next section (8.2) compares the attitude of four religious authorities towards local culture in ritual practices as well as its relations to their understanding of Islamic ritual and their practice of Qur'anic recitation. Section 8.3 discusses the way the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU religious authorities exercise agency and play roles in the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations.

8.2 Between Islam and Javanese Cultures

8.2.1 Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah

One of the purposes of the Muhammadiyah's establishment is to 'purify' Muslims' ritual practices by replacing 'syncretic' local cultures and performing the ritual based on textual references (as done by the Prophet and his companions). For instance, many Javanese people believe in spirits and ask for their help by holding a *selametan* and providing *sajen* (see chapter Three regarding Javanese rituals). Thus, Muhammadiyah attempts to reject this practice and ask people to perform devotional Islamic acts and ask for God's help.

As noted in chapter Four and earlier in this chapter, Muhammadiyah is not particularly accommodating towards 'local culture'. *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* as the formal religious authority institution within the Muhammadiyah organization, attempts to determine whether a non-Islamic culture can be accepted or rejected. In practice, however, the Muhammadiyah, including the Aisyiyah members, have different opinions and practices. As has been shown in chapter Six, different practices of the Qur'an recitation during the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals are found among the Aisyiyah communities in the regency of Jombang and Bantul. The view of the informal religious authority figures like Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah is important and has a great influence on these differences since both are referred for religious issues among their local communities. Furthermore, Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah have more control regarding the way public rituals are practised as both have more capital among the participants of the rituals.

When I asked Bu Amri's view about accommodating local culture to Islamic practices in one of our interviews, Bu Amri responded that local customs are something inherited from one's ancestors. Local customs related to religious beliefs and practices that are not justified by the Qur'an and hadith will be rejected by God. In addition, if these beliefs and practices are not justified by textual references, they are considered *bid'ah*. For example, performing seventh month pregnancy ritual and holding several *selametans* in the marriage or death occasions. She said that conducting a seventh month pregnancy ritual, a *selametan* before or after a Muslim's marriage or death, is considered *bid'ah.* There is no argument from the Qur'an and the hadith about performing those rituals. Furthermore, there is no proof that the Prophet Muhammad and his companions held such events. Thus, Bu Amri indicated that Muslims should not perform the rituals, although some parts have been changed to Islamic practices.

In the opinion of Bu Amri, Muslims can only perform the life cycle rituals based on textual references of Islam, such as '*aqīqah, khitan*, *akad nikah* and *walimahan* or death ceremonies. She added that the rituals should be carried out as practised by the Prophet. There should be no additional rituals or elements such as special food making or communal Qur'an recitation. Nevertheless, Bu Amri stated that it is acceptable if the local culture is not related to religious beliefs or practices such as dressing style. She said that wearing Javanese clothes is not a problem as long as the clothes cover the parts of the body that should not be exposed

to other people (*aurat*), loose, not tight, not thin, and not resemble man's clothes (Jombang, 26th February 2018).

On the other hand, according to Bu Munjiyah, some local traditions do not need to be condemned and can be reformed from Javanese practices into Islamic acts. She gave some examples. A baby *selapanan* ritual performed by Javanese people when a baby is thirty-five days old can be changed into the '*aqīqah* ritual when the baby is seven days old. Javanese death rituals on the seventh, fortieth, hundredth days can be adjusted to three days *ta'ziah* event. Devotional acts such as reciting the Qur'an, reading *doa* and listening to a short religious lecture should be included in the rituals to change the old practices such as reading mantra and giving *sajen*. Besides reformation, Bu Munjiyah thought that local traditions can be neutralized by taking some elements of the customs and abandon other elements. For example, *nyadran* ceremony can be done by removing '*haram*' elements such as preparing *sajen* and inserting Islamic practice such as communal recitation of the Qur'an and providing food for the guests. Bu Munjiyah added that in order to change local traditions, good ways are needed. For example, it can be done through a *pengajian* by giving religious lectures and explanations. Thus, people will understand and are willing to change their traditions.

8.2.2 Allowed and Rejected or Allowed, Rejected, and Modified Islamic Ritual

The previous section shows the different preferences of Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah. There are apparent differences between Bu Amri's approach to the issue of how to accommodate when Islam and Javanese customs meet. Bu Amri insisted that as long as a ritual is not justified by textual references of Islam, it is considered *bid'ah* and should not be performed by Muslims. Like many Muhammadiyah members outside the Yogyakarta province, Bu Amri tended to be less accommodating to Javanese culture. Furthermore, Bu Amri did not consider changing the customs to the Islamic traditions gradually.

In contrast to Bu Amri, Bu Munjiyah was considered more 'tolerant' to Javanese customs. Moreover, she was willing to change the traditions gradually by implementing the idea of *dakwah kultural* developed by The Muhammadiyah. Reformation and neutralization are her acculturation strategy. The differences between the view of these two *ustazahs* and the practice of both local communities are significant. For Bu Amri, Islamic ritual is only divided into allowed or rejected. The ritual that has a textual reference (*non bid'ah*) is allowed. Nevertheless, the ritual that is not justified by Islamic texts (*bid'ah*) is rejected. Most of the Aisyiyah members and sympathizers in Jombang I interviewed agreed with the view of Bu Amri. Bu Amri and the majority of the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang did not organize the life cycle, calendrical, or occasional rituals that had not been practised by the Prophet and his companions. Furthermore, they only practiced the recitation of the Qur'an in the '*non bid'ah*' occasions.

However, for Bu Munjiyah, Islamic rituals can be divided into allowed, rejected, and modified. A ritual which is justified by textual references of Islam is allowed. A ritual which is contradictory to Islamic teachings should be rejected. A ritual that is taken from

Javanese culture and has not been performed in the time of the Prophet or his companions can be done if it fulfils some conditions. First, the ritual should be in accordance with Islamic tenets. Second, it should be modified into Islamic practices by reforming or neutralizing some of its elements. Bu Munjiyah also attempted to modify some Javanese rituals and changed the character of the rituals from 'syncretic' to 'Islamic'. For instance, the practise of asking for the help of spirits was changed to the practice of asking for the help of God. Providing *sajen* and various foods during the ritual to please the spirits was changed to performing devotional acts such as Qur'an recitation, giving *sedekah,* reading *doa,* and listening to religious lectures to get closer to God. In addition, preparing simple food was intended to honour the invited guests. Giving the guests *berkat* to be taken home consists of the rest of the *selametan* food or rice and side dishes was adjusted to providing the guests a meal box consisted of rice and side dishes or *berkat* contained of *sembako*. The Ummul Mukminat and the Ummahatul Mukminin communities agreed to the view of Bu Munjiyah. Many of them organized the life cycle, calendrical or occasional rituals modified from Javanese customs. The habitus of Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah, in this case, plays an essential role in shaping the recitation of the Qur'an practices among both communities.

8.2.3 Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida

As noted in chapters Four and Six, the NU organization has a single attitude towards local culture. Enculturation is the acculturation model of this organization. In the opinion of the NU organization, local culture should be maintained as long as it is in accordance with Islamic teachings. Diverse traditions can be found in the local context. Therefore, local religious authority agents have to determine whether a tradition is in line with Islam and whether a ritual is considered 'Islamic' or 'non-Islamic', and *bid'ah* or not.

In our interview, Bu Nyai Um told me:

> I often describe through *pengajian* that death rituals such as three, seven, forty days are not from the Islamic tradition, but they are ancestral customs that are believed to be passed down through generations as a prayer for the dead. In the past, they did the rituals by holding *selametan* accompanied by animistic beliefs and dynamism […] after Islam came (to the Archipelago), the practices were preserved by *Walisongo* but adjusted in accordance with Islamic tenets […] Islamic *dakwah* does not need to eliminate local culture. We throw the heresy practice, not the indigenous tradition. This (method) is very effective since it does not cause clashes between religion and culture […] In my opinion, preserving (local) culture is essential to maintain our identity (Jombang, 20 February 2018).

Bu Nyai Um's narrative indicates that she did not reject the indigenous tradition specifically, but the heresy practices related to the customs. In the opinion of Bu Nyai Um, local traditions can be maintained if they are in line with Islamic teachings. For instance, the practice of the Javanese third, seventh, fortieth death rituals cannot be found explicitly in the Qur'an or

hadith. However, Muslims may hold these events if the rituals are practised within the framework of Islam.

Similar to the opinion of Bu Nyai Um, according to Bu Nyai Ida, local cultures do not need to be abolished as long as they are in accordance with Islamic teachings and do not contain the practice of heresy. She told me that they should be maintained to attract local people to Islam. She argued that not all parts of the local culture are good or bad. Therefore, Muslims have to choose which local custom fits, and which does not fit with Islamic teachings. Some indigenous traditions can be preserved and done in the framework of Islamic teachings (Bantul, 29th August 2018). Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida in this context chose enculturation by maintaining their Islamic traditions and selectively acquiring some elements of Javanese traditions that are in line with Islamic teachings.

8.2.4 Allowed, Modified, and Rejected

When I asked Bu Nyai Um regarding Islamic ritual, she said that every practice that does not violate Islamic canonical law could be considered Islamic ritual. In her opinion, *bid'ah* is an innovation related to religious matters which had not been practised at the time of the Prophet and his companions. Not all innovations, however, are regarded as bad innovation (*bid'ah sayyi'ah*). She gave some instances for good innovation (*bid'ah ḥasanah*). She said that using technology for Islamic *dakwah*, utilizing a microphone for *azan* and prayer, and using local customs as one of the *dakwah* methods are among good *bid'ah*s. Conducting Javanese life cycle rituals and changing the practices into Islamic acts such as reciting the Qur'an is also considered *bid'ah ḥasanah* (Jombang, 17th January 2022).

For Bu Nyai Ida, Islamic ritual means devotional practices within the framework of Islamic tenets. During our interview, Bu Nyai Ida shared her thoughts regarding *bid'ah.* She said that every innovation that had not occurred at the time of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions could be categorized as *bid'ah*. However, related to ritual practices, not all *bid'ah*s are considered bad. Some *bid'ahs* are good because they are justified by Islamic texts, either explicitly or implicitly. For instance, the practice of reading the biography book of the Prophet Muhammad (such as *diba'* book, *maulid al-barzanjī* or *maulid al-burdah*) and praising him by reading *salawat*. In addition, although Islamic texts were revealed in the Arabian Peninsula, the socio-cultural contexts of the Arabian and Indonesian people are different. Therefore, Islamic tenets may be practiced differently in both settings. The way Arabian society perform Islamic rituals may differ from the Indonesian people (Bantul, 25 January 2022). Meanwhile, *bid'ah sayyi'ah* is a religious practice which is not based on Islamic texts and cause harm.

Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida attempted to negotiate Islamic texts and the views of the NU organization within their local community of NU in Jombang and Bantul. Like Bu Munjiyah, in the opinion of Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida, ritual practices can be divided into allowed, rejected, and modified. First, if the ritual is justified by Islamic texts, it is allowed. On the contrary, if the ritual contradicts Islamic teachings, it is rejected. The last category is a modified ritual practice. This ritual was not justified by textual references of

Islam. However, it can be practised in accordance with Islamic teaching. For example, as described in chapter Six, the Muslimat NU communities in the village of Bu Nyai Um used to conduct a *selapanan* ceremony. When I asked her about this ceremony, she explained to me, "'*aqīqah* is one of Islamic life cycle ceremonies. It is usually conducted on the seventh day of childbirth. On this occasion, the host announces the name of the newborn baby and get his/her hair cut. In this village, Javanese people used to hold a *selametan* in the *selapanan* ceremony on the thirty-fifth day of childbirth. This (*selapanan*) ceremony does need to be abandoned. Instead, it can be modified and merged with the '*aqīqah* ceremony" (Jombang, 6 December 2021). Bu Nyai Ida also gave an example about a modified ritual. She shared her story that many Yogyakarta inhabitants used to provide offerings containing different kinds of foods in some events and throw them afterwards. She said, based on the Qur'anic verse number 27 of *surah al-Isra'*: "Those who squander are the brothers of *syaitan*, and *syaitan* is most ungrateful to his Lord", throwing good food is prohibited. Therefore, people may provide different kinds of food at various events, such as during the ceremony of *nyadran*, but they should not throw the food. The food may be given to the participants of the events or those in need (Bantul, 25th January 2022).

Regarding the practices of the Qur'an recitation in the life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals among the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul, in the view of Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida, the practices give essential meanings to the rituals. First, the recitation of the Qur'an is one of the Islamic devotional acts. Reciting the Qur'an is recommended on various occasions. They said that it can change the character of the rituals from syncretic to Islamic. For instance, In the past, when Javanese people conducted a death ceremony, their neighbors came, and a *selametan* was held. There, they burned incense and provided offerings to please spirits so that their deceased family could reach their afterlife place safely. By changing these practices into reciting the Qur'an and other devotional acts such as giving *sedekah* and reading *doa*, the ritual becomes Islamic. Second, reciting the Qur'an in various rituals is an expression of gratitude to God. Moreover, it can be a *wasilah* to get God's blessings through the *tabaruk* of the Qur'an and the recited verses.

8.3 Ritual Practices: Individual Agency and Organizational Identity

As described in chapter Seven, the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women were active agent. They actively sought for knowledge, participated in trainings or workshops, involved in various activities within the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations. Furthermore, they accumulated various forms of capital and were aware of resources they had and their ability to make a decision.

Various studies indicate that different forms of agency are expressed by women through ritual practices (Berry, 2006; Boddy, 1989; Maclachlan, 2016; Mahmood, 2005;, Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 1999; Primkulova, 2017; Tyagi, 2014). Within the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations, the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women in Jombang and Bantul can also exercise and express their agency through the life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals. The Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU religious authorities in this study

attempted to negotiate Islamic texts, the religious understanding of the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations and Javanese traditions in the aforementioned rituals. Agency is often associated with freedom and resistance (see further chapter One and Two). In this study, however, the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women did not resist to the views of the patriarchal organizations regarding how to acculturate when Islamic traditions meet Javanese customs as well as related to their understanding of Islamic ritual and the issue of *bid'ah*. Although Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah had different attitudes and practices, both did not resist to the religious understanding of the local Muhammadiyah where they lived. In the above rituals, these four women and the other Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU interlocutors expressed religious form of agency. The recitation of the Qur'an they performed in the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals were intended to learn the book of God, get rewards and blessing from Him, as well as devotional acts with the hope that their wish will be fulfilled by God.

Not only their agency is exercised and expressed through the Qur'an recitation practices, but they have internalized the norms of Muhammadiyah and NU in their conduct. The Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women participated in some of the above ritual occasions carved for themselves a space in the ritual context while embracing the patriarchal organization norms. As *female* members of the Muhammadiyah and NU, the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU members in this study reported that they were never disempowered within the Muhammadiyah and NU. For them, supporting the Islamic tradition according to the Muhammadiyah and NU's views was their choice and belief. Furthermore, as mentioned before, public ritual practice had been the most important tool to spread the ideas of the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations among female members and was used to express the identity of the Muhammadiyah and NU.

Here, the Aisyiyah women played roles by expressing the identity of the Muhammadiyah as the modernist as well as supporting the purification ideas of the organization. Meanwhile, the Muslimat NU women used these rituals to express the identity of NU as traditionalist and reinforce the customs of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization. The motto of the NU organization *al-muḥāfaẓatu 'alā al-qadīm aṣ-ṣāliḥ wa al-akhdu bi al-jadīd al-aṣlaḥ*' (preserving the good aspects of the old and adopting the better ones of the new) was expressed through the aforementioned ritual practices.

8.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have answered the fourth sub-question of this study regarding the attitude of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women towards local culture and its relation to their understanding of Islamic ritual and the practices of Qur'anic recitation. I have also discussed the fifth and sixth sub-questions which are related to the way the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women exercise agency and play diverse roles in the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations through the life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals.

Throughout this chapter, I have outlined three acculturation strategies. The first strategy, separation, is evident in Bu Amri's attitude and behaviour. Regarding the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals, Bu Amri attempted to practice Islamic rituals and avoid

Javanese rituals. The second strategy, reformation, is seen from the attitude and behaviour of Bu Munjiyah. When she found a similar ritual based on textual references of Islam, the practice of Javanese ritual was transformed into the Islamic ones. For instance, the practice of seventh month pregnancy ceremony was transformed into fourth month pregnancy ritual based on the Prophetic tradition about the creation of human being (see chapters Three and Six). The Javanese death rituals such as the seventh, fortieth, hundredth, or thousandth death ceremonies were changed into three days *ta'ziah* event. The *selapanan* ceremony was changed to '*aqīqah* ceremony.

The strategies of neutralization and Islamization were used by Bu Munjiyah, Bu Nyai Um, and Bu Nyai Ida through accepting some elements of the rituals, abandoning others, and inserting Islamic practices. For instance, in the opinion of these three religious authorities, a *slametan* before or after *akad nikah* or *walimahan* can be done by abandoning the '*haram*' parts, maintaining the '*halal*' parts, and inserting Islamic devotional acts such as reciting the Qur'an, giving *sedekah,* and reading *doa.* Unlike Bu Munjiyah, for Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida, the Javanese death ceremonies can be conducted by abandoning the '*haram*' parts, maintaining the '*halal*' parts, and inserting Islamic devotional acts.

The attitudes and behaviours of these Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women have a relation to their understanding about the meaning of Islamic ritual and the practices of the recitation of the Qur'an. For Bu Amri, a ritual is Islamic if it is justified by the textual references of Islam. Javanese life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals are accepted if they are based on the textual references of Islam. On the contrary, if they are not practiced by the Prophet and his companions, they are considered not to be Islamic and thus *bid'ah*. For Bu Munjiyah, Bu Nyai Um, and Bu Nyai Ida, an Islamic ritual is a ritual which is in line with Islamic teachings. Javanese life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals are accepted if they are based on the textual references of Islam. If they contradict with Islamic teachings, they cannot be regarded as Islamic ritual. Furthermore, they fall under the category of *bid'ah sayyi'ah.* If the rituals do not contradict with Islamic teachings, they can be modified. The Qur'anic recitation practices are added to modify some Javanese rituals and make them more Islamic.

The Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU religious authorities in this study exercise agency through negotiating Islamic texts, the religious understanding of the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations and Javanese traditions in the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals. Agency is often associated with freedom and resistance. In this study, however, the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women did not resist to the views of the patriarchal organizations regarding how to acculturate when Islamic traditions meet Javanese customs as well as related to their understanding of Islamic ritual and the issue of *bid'ah.* Although Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah had different attitudes and practices, both did not resist to the religious understanding of the local Muhammadiyah where they lived. Through the above rituals, the Aisyiyah women played roles by expressing the identity of the Muhammadiyah organization as the modernist as well as supporting the purification ideas of the organization. Meanwhile, the Muslimat NU women used these rituals to express the identity of NU as traditionalist and reinforce the customs of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization.

Chapter 9
Conclusion, Discussion, and Limitation

9.1 Introduction

Modernity has enabled women to have the opportunity to receive education and establish their careers beyond the domestic sphere. Since the twentieth century, when some public spaces for Muslim women began to be established, many women were able to achieve more prominent roles in public life. In the Indonesian context, opportunities and public roles for Muslim women are, among others, given and created by two patriarchal organizations, Muhammadiyah and NU. Female members of these organizations benefited from the given opportunities and spaces. Those with power resources can occupy different positions in various fields. For example, many Muhammadiyah and NU women with significant Islamic knowledge gain recognition as religious authorities – either formal or informal – that have been dominated by male religious scholars. This recognition sometimes is not confined to women audiences but extends to mixed participants. In addition, by utilising their resources, these women exert agency within the patriarchal organizations, for instance, through negotiating Islamic texts and the organizations' views with local contexts and play important roles within the organizations.

In this chapter, I present several of my research findings and in doing so, I use my sub questions as introduced in chapter One to structure the conclusion section 9.2. The sub-questions of this study are: First, how Qur'anic recitation practiced during the life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals within the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities? Second, what is the position of women as religious authorities within the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations? Third, what is the lived experience of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women, and how does their lived experiences relate to their success in achieving position as religious authorities? Fourth, what is the attitude of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU religious authorities toward local cultures and how do these attitudes relate to their understanding of Islamic ritual and the Qur'an recitation practices? Fifth, how do women exercise agency through these rituals and what kinds of agency do they exhibit? Sixth, how do female religious authority figures play a role in the patriarchal organizations through these rituals? This section ends with a general conclusion to my main question**.** In the discussion section 9.2, I try to expand this study to a broader context by reflecting on the theoretical perspective I employed in this research. In addition, I attempt to engage in the scholarship discussion on some concepts I described in chapter one. In the last section 9.4, I reflect on the limitation of this study.

9.2 Conclusion

The Qur'anic recitation practices among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities

In chapters Five and Six, I showed that the recitation of the Qur'an is an important act among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul. It is practiced in various public gatherings such as the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals. This study shows that the recitation of the Qur'an was practised variously among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul during the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals. The various intentions behind the recitation and the interpretation of local religious authorities regarding Islamic ritual and *bid'ah* affects this diversity.

Among the majority of the Aisyiyah communities in Jombang, the recitation of the Qur'an was intended to understand the meaning of its verses, get reward, blessing, and draw closer to God. In the public sphere, the recitation of the Qur'an within this community was only performed during a 'non *bid'ah'* gathering. For instance, it was recited in the life cycle rituals based on textual references such as *'aqīqah, khitan, akad nikah* and *walimahan* ceremonies; in some calendrical rituals such as public *tadarus* program and *pengajian* events. On the above occasions, the Qur'an was mostly recited by a *qāri'*, a *qāri'ah* or a representative of Aisyiyah at the beginning of the events. Furthermore, no particular *surah* or verse was chosen to be recited here.

On the other hand, among the Aisyiyah communities in Bantul, the recitation of the Qur'an was not only intended for understanding the meaning of the verses, getting reward or God's blessing but it was also intended as an intercession with the hope that their *doa* will be fulfilled by God. Therefore, within the communities, the recitation of the Qur'an was performed communally in various public gatherings. For instance, it was done in the life cycle occasions based on Islamic references such as *'aqīqah, khitan, akad nikah* and *walimahan* ceremonies. In addition, it was conducted in the life cycle rituals taken from the neutralized Javanese tradition such as fourth month and seventh month pregnancy rituals, *pengajian pernikahan* events, as well as three days mortuary rites. On some calendrical rituals such as *tadarus* program, *pengajian,* Islamic festival events, and sending *doa* ritual as well as during several occasional events such as healing ritual, *tasyakuran*, opening a new shop or occupying a new house, the Aisyiyah communities in this place also gathered and recited the Qur'an. On these occasions, some specific Qur'anic verses or *surahs* were chosen depending on the event. For example, *surah Yūsuf* or *Maryam* were recited during pregnancy rituals, *surah ar-Raḥmān* and/or *Luqmān* were chosen for the *'aqīqah* and *khitan* ceremonies, and *surah Yāsīn* or al-Mulk was recited on the death occasion.

For the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul, the recitation of the Qur'an was performed to get close to God, seek His blessing, and a *wasilah* with the hope that their *doa* will be accepted by God and the events they conducted run smoothly. Therefore, it was done in the various life cycle, calendrical, and occasional events which were originated from Islamic texts or modified from local customs. In Jombang, for instance, the

Qur'an was recited during the fourth and seventh month pregnancy ceremonies; *brokohan*, *selapanan, 'aqīqah* childbirth ceremonies, *khitan*, marriage and death rituals; weekly gathering; *selapanan pengajian*, *khatmul* Qur'an event; Islamic festival celebrations; *tadarus* Ramadan; Independence Day and *ruwat desa*; as well as healing ritual, moving to a new house or opening a new shop, *walimatus safar* for hajj; and *ziarah kubur* occasions. In Bantul, the Qur'an is also recited during the fourth and seventh month pregnancy ceremonies; *'aqīqah* childbirth ceremonies; *khitan*, marriage and death rituals; weekly gathering; *selapanan pengajian*, *khatmul* Qur'an event; *nyadran* event; Islamic festival celebrations; *tadarus* Ramadan; as well as healing ritual; moving to a new house or opening a new shop, *walimatus safar* for hajj; and *ziarah kubur* occasions.

The Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul conducted additional rituals beyond the requirements of the Islamic texts and attempted to accommodate some local traditions. Many of the above rituals were held in both places. A few rituals, however, were only conducted in Jombang or Bantul. For example, the *selapanan* childbirth ceremony and *ruwat desa* events were done by the Muslimat NU community in Jombang. Meanwhile, the *nyadran* event was held by the Muslimat NU community in Bantul. This difference occurs because of the different local customs in both places. The inhabitants of Jombang used to conduct the *selapanan* ceremony while the people of Yogyakarta used to conduct the *nyadran* event.

In the aforementioned rituals, both communities chose particular *surah*s or verses to be recited. For instance, in the fourth and seventh month pregnancy rituals, most of the Muslimat NU communities in both places recited *surah* Yūsuf and Maryam together. Some of them added *surah* Luqmān and Muhammad or all Qur'anic verses to be recited in this event. On the occasion of marriage, such as before or after *akad nikah* or wedding ceremonies, the Muslimat NU communities in Jombang performed *khatmul Qur'an* while the Muslimat NU communities in Bantul performed *Yasinan* and *tahlilan*. In the death rituals, both communities were mostly performed *Yasinan* and *tahlilan*. Some communities in Jombang, also read *surah* al-Ikhlāṣ several times in addition to performing *Yasinan* and *tahlilan.* In some events, all Qur'anic verses were recited instead of choosing particular verses or *surah*s, such as in the *khatmul Qur'an* and *tadarus* Ramadan events. In the above events, the Qur'an was recited by a *qāri'ah,* representatives of local Muslimat NU, a group of *hāfiẓahs,* or by all participants. Sometimes, the recitation was performed together at the same time. At the other times, it was done in turns.

The position of religious authority of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women

My findings reveal that women are subordinate within the formal religious authority institution of Muhammadiyah, *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid,* at the provincial and regional levels. The Aisyiyah women, both in Jombang and Bantul did not have positions in the provincial and regional *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid*. Moreover, they lacked access to decision making processes related to religious issues in this formal religious authority institution.

Nevertheless, at the national level, some female ulama have been appointed as members of *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* since 1995. Their authority in making decisions related to religious issues in the central *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* is equal to the authority of male members. In the local contexts, a few members of Aisyiyah in Jombang and Bantul gained a position of informal religious authority.

In Jombang, the Aisyiyah women had an equal authority to their male counterparts or more than them among women-only audiences. Nevertheless, they almost had no authority among male or mixed gender participants. Similarly, the female ulama of Aisyiyah in Bantul had more authority compared to their male counterparts among women-only participants. Furthermore, many members referred to these female ulama for their religious problems. Within mixed-gender audiences, unlike the female religious authority in Jombang, the female religious authority in Bantul had limited religious authority. This different phenomenon might be due to the different habitus of the Muhammadiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul. The Muhammadiyah communities in Jombang were considered by many (as indicated in chapters Four and Six) more 'conservative' than the communities of this organization in Bantul. For instance, gender segregation was more apparent during the activities of the Muhammadiyah communities in Jombang.

Within the organizational structure of LBMNU as the NU's formal religious authority institution, women of NU had no position at the regional and provincial levels. Only male ulama held power and authority to make official religious decisions in the regional and provincial LBMNU. The authority of these female ulama, however, was equal to the authority of their male counterparts within the central LBMNU. Within the NU organization, a few women gained a position of informal religious authority in the local contexts. Unlike the Aisyiyah religious authority figures, the authority of female religious figures of NU both in Jombang and Bantul was equal to their male counterparts within women-only and mixed-gender participants. Likewise, the authority of male religious figures was higher among men-only or mixed audiences in the above rituals.

The findings in this chapter also show that the patriarchal Muslim organizations field in which the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women engage in, as well as their agency play important role in their success in gaining recognition as religious authorities. As discussed in chapter Two, the authority of women in patriarchal organizations is not given by the organizations or because of their resistance to the organizations. As Nielsen (2019) argues, both patriarchal organizations and women's agency play important roles. Patriarchal movements create space or give women limited authority. On the other hand, women within the patriarchal movements do not only passively occupy positions of authority or endorse the patriarchal gender ideas, but they use their agency for gaining this position. Here, Muhammadiyah and NU created spaces and gave opportunities for the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women to gain a position of religious authority. Nevertheless, the agency of these women played essential roles in their success.

Bourdieu (1990; 1996; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) compared a field to a game that has rules and regularities. Individual agents who enter this field hold particular capital as the weapon which they use to compete with others. One's success within a field refers to the number of capital in accordance with the field he/she has. The capital represents power

over the field. The more capital he/she possesses or has, the higher are the chances he/she can achieve the dominant position. In addition, the individual's success refers to how compatible their habitus is with the field's habitus. Through drawing on Bourdieu's theory, this study indicates that the success of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women refers to the symbolic capital in accordance with the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations they had. In addition, it concerns the compatibility of their habitus with the habitus of the patriarchal organizations. Through the Qur'anic recitation practices in the public life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals, these women accumulated and expressed the symbolic capital mixed of cultural and social. The compatibility of their habitus with the habitus of the organizations could be observed in the above rituals.

Local culture, Islamic ritual, and bid'ah

There are three acculturation strategies done by the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities in Jombang and Bantul when Islamic traditions met Javanese cultures in the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals. The first strategy, separation, is chosen by Bu Amri. Bu Amri attempted to practice Islamic rituals and avoid Javanese rituals. The second strategy, reformation, is seen from the attitude and behaviour of Bu Munjiyah. When she found similar Javanese ritual in Islamic traditions, the practice of Javanese ritual was replaced by the Islamic ones. For instance, the practice of seventh month pregnancy ceremony was replaced by fourth month pregnancy ritual based on the Prophetic tradition about the creation of human being (see chapter Three and Six). The Javanese death rituals such as the seventh, fortieth, hundredth, or thousandth death ceremonies were changed into three days *takziyah* event. The *selapanan* ceremony was replaced by '*aqīqah* ceremony. The last strategy, neutralization and Islamization, were used by Bu Munjiyah, Bu Nyai Um, and Bu Nyai Ida. It was done by accepting some elements of the Javanese traditions, abandoning the rest, and inserting Islamic customs. For instance, in the opinion of these three religious authorities, a *slametan* before or after *akan nikah* or *walimahan* can be done by abandoning the '*haram*' parts, maintaining the '*halal*' parts, and inserting Islamic devotional acts such as reciting the Qur'an, giving *sedekah,* and reading *doa.* Unlike Bu Munjiyah, in the view of Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida, some Javanese traditions such as seventh month pregnancy and *selapanan* rituals or various death ceremonies do not need to be replaced by fourth month pregnancy, '*aqīqah,* and takziyah rituals. Instead, they can be conducted by abandoning the '*haram*' parts, maintaining the '*halal*' parts, and inserting Islamic devotional acts.

The attitudes and behaviours of these Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women affect their understanding about the meaning of Islamic ritual and the practices of the recitation of the Qur'an. For Bu Amri, a ritual is Islamic if it is justified by the textual references of Islam. Javanese life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals are accepted if they are based on the textual references of Islam. On the contrary, if they are not practiced by the Prophet and his companions, they are considered non Islamic and *bid'ah*. For Bu Munjiyah, Bu Nyai Um, and Bu Nyai Ida, Islamic ritual is every ritual which is in line with Islamic teachings. Javanese life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals are accepted if they are based on the textual

references of Islam. If they contradict with Islamic teachings, they cannot be regarded as Islamic ritual. Furthermore, they fall under the category of *bid'ah sayyi'ah.* If the rituals do not contradict Islamic teachings, they can be modified. The Qur'anic recitation practices are added to modify some Javanese rituals and make them more Islamic.

By analysing the habitus of Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah, the capital they had, and the local contexts where they lived, this study indicates that the different practices above are shaped by the individual trajectories of Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah. As mentioned earlier, the habitus of Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah is different from each other. Also, although both Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah had a considerable amount of Islamic knowledge, they received this knowledge from different sources. Bu Amri got the Islamic teaching from informal ways, while Bu Munjiyah obtained it from formal and informal ways. Furthermore, the habitus of the Muhammadiyah communities in Jombang and Bantul where Bu Amri and Bu Munjiyah lived was different. Muhammadiyah communities in Jombang tended to reject local Javanese traditions. Meanwhile, the Muhammadiyah communities in Bantul were more accommodating of local Javanese customs.

A field is characterised by dynamic and fluid (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 104–106). When the central board of the Muhammadiyah organization changed its attitude towards local cultures – to be more positive – and developed the concept of *dakwah kultural,* which combined accommodating some parts of local customs and purifying Islamic beliefs and practices from the 'rejected' local customs*,* there were changes in the field's rules. Changes in the field can influence the adjustment of subjective aspirations to the objective structure. At the same time, the habitus of the agents attempts to seek conditions of fulfilment, as indicated by Bourdieu (2000, p. 150). The inhabitants of Bantul Yogyakarta province, where the central board of the Muhammadiyah organization was located, tended to accept the new rules. On the other hand, many of the Muhammadiyah people outside this province, such as in Jombang East Java province, chose to implement the old rules.

Likewise, the family setting, educational background, social networks, and experiences of the two Muslimat NU religious authorities, Bu Nyai Um and Bu Nyai Ida had shaped their habitus and preferences in accommodating local cultures and understanding the meaning of Islamic rituals and *bid'ah*. Here, as Bell (1997) indicates, ritual is considered an arena for cultural mediation and part of a historical process. Through ritual, past patterns are reproduced, reinterpreted, or transformed. In the ritual, those who have the ability to "address and manipulate" these patterns have power (p. 83).

The agency and role of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women

In the previous section, I have demonstrated how the patriarchal organizations created spaces and provided opportunities for women to have access to some resources. Some of them, such as the religious authority figures in this study had enough resources, accumulated symbolic capital in accordance with the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations, and were aware of their capacity to decide actions. Therefore, they were recognised as religious authorities. These circumstances also enable them to exercise agency within patriarchal organizations.

As noted in the previous chapters, women can exercise agency in various ways. In this study, female religious authorities of Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU exercise their agency within the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations through negotiating Islamic rituals. This negotiation process can be shown during the recitation of the Qur'an practices in the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals. In these events, the religious authority figures of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU attempted to bridge the gap between the past practices and the present as well as reinterpret the prescription of the ritual practices in different contexts. As Sewell (1992) argues, "agency arises from the actor's knowledge of schemas, which means the ability to apply them to new contexts" (p. 20). In addition, the habitus of the religious authority agents can be observed as they attempted to re-regulate past actions and adapt to the new logic of practices within the local contexts.

During my fieldwork within the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU communities, I was reminded that their engagements with the patriarchal religious organizations did not mean they were passive or resisted the views of the organizations. This study reveals that in contrast to the perception that religious women are oppressed and passive, Muslim women of this study were active agents and recognised as Islamic religious authorities within their local communities. Also, the women of this study did not challenge or resist the general views of the patriarchal organizations related to ritual practices. This phenomenon is in line with the statement of Mahmood (2005) that resistance is not the only form of women's agency in the patriarchal contexts. She argues that "agentival capacity is entailed not only in those acts that resist norms but also in the multiple ways in which one inhabits norms" (p. 15).

Through public ritual practices such as the life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals, they actively participated in spreading the ideas of the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations. They had important roles in conveying Islamic teaching based on the views of the organizations, in particular among female members. Furthermore, they played significant roles in maintaining the identity of the Muhammadiyah as the modernist and NU as the traditionalist organizations. However, they were not passive agents or merely tools to support the organizations. They took the initiative, conducted negotiations, and decided on actions regarding the meaning of Islamic rituals and the application of the Islamic texts and the views of the organizations in the local contexts. Characteristics such as freedom and resistance were not shown by the women in this study. These features do not always match with religious women, as indicated by some scholars (Avishai, 2008; Burke, 2012; Mahmood, 2005; Rinaldo, 2014; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006). As Mahmood (2015) also illustrates, women can exercise agency and adhere to the structure or domination at the same time.

In conclusion and in answer to the main research question, I can say that through the Qur'anic recitation practices in the public life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals, the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU in this study gained a position of religious authority by accumulating and expressing symbolic capital mixed of cultural and social as well as showing the compatibility of their habitus with the habitus of the organizations. Through these rituals, they exercised agency by negotiating Islamic rituals and attempting to bridge the gap between the past practices and the present as well as reinterpreting the prescription of the ritual practices in different contexts. Also, through these rituals, they played important roles in

conveying Islamic teaching based on the views of the organizations and in maintaining the identity of the Muhammadiyah as the modernist and NU as the traditionalist organizations.

9.3 Discussion

In the previous section, I described the emic perspective of Muslim women, their position of religious authority, as well as agency and role within patriarchal religious organizations by drawing on the answer to the sub questions and main question of this study. To expand this study to a broader context, in this discussion section, I reflect on the theoretical perspective I employed in this research. In addition, I attempt to engage in the scholarly discussion on some concepts I described in chapter One.

9.3.1 Applying Bourdieu's Theory in Islamic Fields

Bourdieu's works have a great influence in the study of religion. His concepts have been applied by many scholars and become starting points for some new approaches. His theoretical model of religion, however, has some shortcomings and limitations. Bourdieu's model of religion, as some authors indicate (Dianteill, 2003; Dillon, 2001; McKinnon et al., 2011; Rey, 2007; Thielmann, 2013; Verter, 2003) relies mostly on the context of Roman Catholic church in France. McKinnon et al. (2011), points out that Bourdieu's concept in the field of religion is "too 'French' and too 'Catholic', which limits its applicability to the study of other religious traditions and contexts". Another weakness is that his concept is too "rigidly structured to adequately comprehend contemporary fluid religious (or 'spiritual') realities" (p. 355). For instance, in the view of Bourdieu, the religious field is monopolized by a single institution, i.e., the French Catholic church. The institution of the Catholic church maintains the monopoly of access to good salvation. Religious capital is organizationally dispensed, and the church officials hold an exclusive authority for conducting baptism, marriage, ordination, or the other administration of sacraments (McKinnon, p. 359). This, according to Verter (2003) "leaves little room for imagining lay people as social actors capable" (p. 151). For Bourdieu, as indicated by Dillon (2001) "the authentic religious producers are the official institutional specialists who consciously reinterpret religion, as opposed to the dispossessed consumers/laity, who can merely demand but not supply religious meanings and goods" (p. 414). In her research among American Catholics, Dillon (2001) argues that the laity are not merely consumers or passive agents, but they were often producers.

Build upon the above shortcomings, a few scholars like Verter (2003) and Urban (2003) attempt to develop Bourdieu's notion of religious field and redefine symbolic capital related to religion as spiritual capital. In their view, symbolic capital can be accumulated individually by laity instead of monopolized by an institution. As described in chapter Two, Bourdieu developed the concept of habitus which links between the objective and subjective and gives room for individual agency. Nevertheless, he did not use this approach to modify his earlier analyses related to religious field. In the field of religion, as indicated by Urban

(2003), Bourdieu emphasizes that the rules of the structures of a larger social body are written into the individual body through habitus. Because of its monopoly, the church and its priests have the power to impose a particular religious habitus upon the laity. On the other hand, in his study among the Bāuls of Bengal, Urban finds that individual agents have the ability to "deconstruct, transform and reconstruct their own habitus" which gives lay people more room within larger social order and enables them to resist and subvert to the dominant institution (p. 384).

Regarding Islamic fields, some authors attempt to utilise Bourdieu's theory of religious field to interpret their study. For instance, Türkmen (2021) employs Bourdieu's explicit concept of religious field in his study among Turkish Muslims. Although he criticises Bourdieu's theory, saying that Islam does not have a centralized institution as the Catholic church in the context of France, he indicates that Bourdieu's concept is applicable for the Islamic field in Turkey. The reason is the existence of the *Diyanet* as the sole religious institution regulating Islam in this country. Another author, Yusupova (2020) employs Bourdieu's theory on religious field to interpret his study in a Russian Muslim village. Following Bourdieu, he classifies specialists of religious field in the village into different groups of leaders considered as priests and prophets. Other researchers, however, use his general theory of practice instead of his explicit concept of religious field to interpret Islamic fields. For example, Thielman (2013) tries to move away from the concept of religious field proposed by Bourdieu in his study among Muslims in Bad Kreuznach in South-West Germany. He argues that Islamic fields are different from other religious contexts. In Islam, religious authority is not monopolised by a particular institution. There are religious institutions, ulama or religious scholars, or Sufi *syaikhs*. Furthermore, modernity allows lay people to have access to gain power, authority, and capital in Islamic fields. Thus, they become religious authorities known as "new Muslim intellectuals". Thielmann also states that the conceptualisation of religious capital by Bourdieu is problematic. In the Islamic fields, the valorisation of specific forms of capital is different from one community to another. Besides Thielmann, Rusmawati et al., (2018), attempts to interpret female Muslim student's preferences of wearing or taking off their Islamic headscarf in the province of Ile-de-France using Bourdieu's concept of habitus.

Verter in McKinnon et al. (2011), argues that "the only way to make use of Bourdieu's sociology of religion is by turning away from his explicit writings on religion and using the tools drawn from his studies of other fields" (p. 360). Following Verter and some above-mentioned scholars, in this research, I argue that turning away from Bourdieu's explicit concept of religious field and using Bourdieu's general concepts of field, capital, and habitus can help us analysing Islamic fields in the Indonesian context. As previously explained in this dissertation, there is no single institution dominating Islamic fields in Indonesia. Religious authority is either 'official' in the hand of formal institutions such as fatwa organizations and Islamic authority centres, or 'unofficial' in the hand of groups such as individual ulama, Sufi, and new Muslim intellectuals. Individual agents outside the formal institutions may be recognised as authorities, become more authoritative, and have greater influence within Muslim societies than those inside the official institutions.

These individual agents achieve position of religious authorities by accumulating symbolic capital in accordance with the Islamic fields in Indonesia. The legitimate capital is different from one sub-field to another. This symbolic capital is mostly individually accumulated through various ways. For instance, through learning Islamic knowledge in formal Islamic institutions or informal religious gatherings, cultivating individual piety, and having a good network. The structures of Islamic fields, however, also play an essential role in providing knowledge and practices of Islam and giving spaces for individual agents to accumulate and exhibit their capital. In the Islamic fields of the Indonesian context, this capital could be converted into other forms of capital. For instance, those who possesses symbolic capital in accordance with the Islamic fields may gain a greater position within a larger social network. The holder of this capital may also get many benefits or develop economic basis. In the political field, they may also gain a high position. Nevertheless, these phenomena need further research to know the dynamic within the different Islamic fields.

Religious habitus as described by Rey (2003), "is the specifically religious dimension of an individual agent's habitus that manifest itself most apparently" (p. 92). It is one's preferences, tastes, dispositions, views in the religious field. Within the Islamic fields in Indonesia, the habitus of individual agents are shaped by the objective structures and at the same time shape the structures. With various Islamic sub-fields in the Indonesian context, different kinds of habitus are also found. Individual agents have agency and more room within the fields. It does not mean, however, they resist to the structures. Instead, many of them choose to express their agency in the form of obedience.

9.3.2 The Dynamic Between Islam and Local Culture

As discussed in chapter Two, various models of acculturation have been established by scholars. Originally, acculturation was conceptualized for unidimensional process (see Gordon, 1964). In this unidimensional approach, maintaining one's heritage culture and accepting new culture were regarded as opposing ends. Assimilation was the expected result of acculturation since individuals chose to abandon their original culture and embrace the new culture (Schwartz et al., 2010)

During the 1980s, Berry (1997) developed the concept of acculturation in which maintaining heritage culture and receiving new cultures were considered as independent dimensions. When these two dimensions meet, four acculturation strategies occur: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization. Assimilation happens when individuals do not wish to hold on to their original culture and choose to accept other cultures. Separation occurs when individuals try to maintain their culture of origin and reject other cultures. Integration occurs when individuals choose to maintain both original culture and new culture. Marginalization occurs when individuals are having a little interest in both maintaining their culture and adopting other cultures.

A few scholars criticize this model of acculturation for its lack of psychological and cultural contexts. In addition, it was criticized for its ineffectiveness in explaining differences between groups or individuals, and very much focus on minority group and considered "one

size fits all" approach. (see Boski, P., & Kwast-Welfeld, 1998; Rudmin, 2003; Schwarts et al., 2010; Weinreich, 1998). Despite the above shortcomings, his model is beneficial and widely used by many researchers in various fields of study (see for example Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Schmitz & Schmitz, 2022; Sheikh & Anderson, 2018).

Schwarts et al., (2010) expanded Berry's model and argued that acculturation is multidimensional in terms of the independence of original culture and new culture. Furthermore, it is multidimensional with regard to the components of culture that may change. For example, cultural practices (language use, cultural customs and traditions), cultural values (belief systems associated with a specific context or group), and cultural identifications (attachments to cultural groups). The acculturation strategy is divided into assimilation referring to one of Berry's model and enculturation. Assimilation is adopting other culture practices, values, and identification and discarding those from original culture. Meanwhile, enculturation is "selectively acquiring or retaining elements of one's heritage culture while also selectively acquiring some elements from the receiving cultural context" (see Schwarts et al., 2010, p. 4).

In the Indonesian contexts, when the traditions of Islam and local cultures meet, various acculturation models are found. The first model is adaptation. Adaptation happens when groups or individuals wish to maintain their Islamic culture and at the same time accept local culture without changing the elements of the culture. In Berry's model, this strategy is known as integration. The second model is called separation. It occurs when groups or individuals attempt to maintain their Islamic culture and abandon local culture. The third model is reformation. It happens when groups or individuals attempt to replace local culture by Islamic tradition. The fourth strategy is known as neutralization. It occurs when groups or individuals maintain Islamic tradition while selectively accept some elements of local culture. Schwarts et al., call this model as enculturation. In the process of acculturation, as Zhou (1997) indicated, situational determinants and environmental factors impact the availability, advantages and selection of various acculturation strategies. For instance, educational background, place of residence, available resources, organizational background (such as modernist or traditionalist).

9.3.3 Orthodoxy, Orthopraxy, and Islamic Ritual

Religious traditions often put an emphasis on correct belief (orthodoxy) or correct practice (orthopraxy). The former style is known as "orthodoxic", while the second form is called "orthopraxic". Nevertheless, as Bell (1997) indicates, whether a community is regarded as orthodoxic or orthopraxic, it is only a matter of emphasis since no religion can only promote one without the other (p. 191). Islam is among the traditions that attempts to keep its dual emphasis both in orthodoxy and orthopraxy through maintaining "a central and important tension between Arabic revelation for an Arabic speaking people" evidenced by the importance of personal submission to monotheism which is a tendency of orthodoxy and the development of Islamic law which is a tendency of orthopraxy. History, however, shows that generally, the tendency to be a prescriptive religion by maintaining religious identity and

tradition sometimes come into conflict with a tendency of flexibility that could allow the religion to be embraced by different communities (Bell, 1997, p. 195).

To understand Islam and the practice of Muslims, Talal Asad (2009) proposes the notion of "discursive tradition". It is "a tradition consists essentially of discourses that seek to instruct practitioners regarding the correct form and purpose of a given practice that, precisely because it is established, has a history […] The discourses relate conceptually to a past […] and a future…" (p. 20). The notion of discursive tradition tries to make a bridge between maintaining orthodoxy and orthopraxy through the way in which religious authority agents teach, define, make an argument about correct practices. According to him, "orthodoxy is not merely a set of doctrines but a distinctive relationship between power and truth […] Wherever Muslims have the power to regulate, uphold, require, or adjust correct practices, and to condemn, exclude, undermine, or replace incorrect ones, there is the domain of orthodoxy […] Arguments and conflict over the forms and significance of practices are part of any Islamic tradition […] Traditions should not be regarded as essentially homogenous […] Heterogeneity in Muslim practices is not necessarily an indication of the absence of an Islamic tradition" (Asad, 2009, pp. 21–23). He further explains that "a practice is Islamic because it is authorized by the discursive tradition of Islam and is so taught to Muslims – whether by an *alim*, a *khatib*, a *Sufi syaikh*, or an untutored parent –" (Asad, 2009, p. 21).

In this study, religious authority agents were engaged in discourses regarding Islamic ritual. Arguments, debates, and diversity of practices arose because they attempted to redefine the meaning of Islamic ritual, elaborate, reinterpret, as well as reproduce the prescribed texts in different places and times. During the process of elaboration, reinterpretation, and reproduction, they have to deal with local customs. Thus, they tried to negotiate whether or not the customs were compatible with Islamic teachings. In addition, they had to determine whether additional practice beyond the requirements of Islamic texts is Islamic or not.

As this study shows, there are different opinions regarding Islamic ritual between Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, and among religious authorities within the organizations. Furthermore, there is a diversity of ritual practices within different communities in the local contexts. In the view of the Muhammadiyah organization, additional practices of rituals included in the category of '*ibādah maḥḍah* are un-Islamic. Meanwhile, additional practices of rituals related to the matters of *ibādah ghair maḥḍah* can be regarded as Islamic if they are practised within the framework of Islamic teachings. On the other hand, in the opinion of NU, elaboration of ritual practices can be regarded as Islamic as long as they have scriptural roots and do not contradict Islamic teachings. In the local contexts, the opinion of the religious authority figures of both organizations, including female ulama, varies. Some of them regard a ritual as Islamic only if it has a precedent in the time of the Prophet and his companions. Conversely, it is un-Islamic if the Prophet and his companions had not practised it. For them, additional practices derived from local traditions are not accepted. According to these religious authority figures, there are only two categories of ritual in Islam, accepted Islamic ritual and rejected un-Islamic ritual. Other religious authority agents regard a ritual as Islamic if it is practised within the framework of Islamic teachings,

whether or not it is performed by the Prophet and his companions. In their opinion, some un-Islamic local customs can be modified and changed into Islamic rituals. They imply that ritual in Islam can be divided into accepted, modified from local traditions, and rejected.

The varying opinions and diversity of ritual practices within Muslim communities show that past patterns are reproduced, reinterpreted, or transformed as argued by Bell (1997). Furthermore, the above facts do not mean that one community is more orthodox than the other, nor indicate that the practice of one community is more Islamic than the other. As Asad (2009) argues, whenever Muslims have the power to negotiate correct or incorrect practices, there is the domain of orthodoxy. Furthermore, all of the various practices are part of Islamic tradition. "Traditions should not be regarded as essentially homogenous, that heterogeneity in Muslim practices is not necessarily an indication of the absence of an Islamic tradition. The variety of traditional Muslim practices in different times, places, and populations indicate the different Islamic reasonings that different social and historical conditions can or cannot sustain" (p. 23). To end this section, I argue that considering Islam as a discursive tradition is a constructive way to understand Islam and Muslim practices.

9.4 Limitation

As noted in chapter One, I used qualitative research method to gather and analyse my data. One of the disadvantages of qualitative research is that it does not allow one to generalize. Therefore, I want to emphasize that the statement I made in this study did not cover the entire situation regarding the position of religious authority of women, their agency, and ritual practices among the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU in Indonesia, but only applied to my specific research setting. In addition, the main respondents of this study were four women who clearly stand out and had made definitive religious choices. By selecting them, however, I am aware I may tend to emphasize their 'religiousness' as if that represents the other (less prominent) women in the same movement.

This research is a comparative study. Covering four distinct groups in two cities in almost one year of fieldwork period is not easy. I tried to touch on much nuance and complexity of each community. However, this research is not an exhaustive ethnography of the organizations which covers all their various aspects. Instead, I choose the aspects that can guide me in building a theory and concept which is useful for other contexts as well. To understand the dynamics within the communities, it is crucial to establish sufficient rapport with them. I did not find difficulties in this issue since I had known some key informants from both communities in Jombang and Bantul. Through these key informants, I was introduced to some influential local female religious authority figures within both communities and given access to the activities conducted by the communities regarding the recitation of the Qur'an in the life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals. While joining the events, I met and had informal talks with the members and sympathizers from both organizations. The conversations then continued with semi structured and in-depth interviews. Some members I interviewed hesitated to speak at the beginning but then they were delighted to share their opinions and experiences.

There are some advantages and disadvantages for being an insider researcher. Here, I regard myself as an insider for a few reasons. This study is about Muslim community, in particular, the Aisyiyah of Muhammadiyah and the Muslimat NU of Nahdlatul Ulama organizations. Besides being a Muslim and living in the neighbourhood where the traditional Islam of the Nahdlatul Ulama is practiced, I was also involved in teaching Islamic studies at one of the Muhammadiyah universities in Jakarta before being accepted as a civil servant lecturer at the State Islamic University of Purwokerto Central Java. The advantages of being an insider researcher are, for instance, having a greater understanding of the culture being studied and knowing how to approach the members and sympathizers of the communities. However, being an insider researcher has some disadvantages; for example, a researcher may make an implicit assumption about the meanings of the informants' statements, or the meaning of the events. Therefore, I tried to stay focused on the research questions and objectives, developed probes during the interview, presented factual information I got from the interviewees then confirmed the result with them, and shared the findings of this study with colleagues. In addition, I attempted to make an introspective record of the fieldwork to understand whether personal biases and feelings influence my research, as Spradley (1980) points out, "Making an introspective record of fieldwork enables a person to take into account personal biases and feelings, to understand their influences on the research" (p. 72).

Bibliography

Abdullah, T. (1971). *Schools and Politics: The kaum muda movement in West Sumatra*. Cornell university Southeast Asia program.

Abdurrahman, S. (2020). *Pesantren Bahrul Ulum terapkan pengajian daring selama Ramadhan*. NUonline. https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/119613/pesantren-bahrul-ulum-terapkan-pengajian-daring-selama-ramadhan

Aboebakar. (1957). *Sejarah hidup K.H.A.Wahid Hasyim dan karangan tersiar*. Panitia Buku Peringatan Almarhum K.H. A. Wahid Hasyim.

Abou El Fadl, K. (1963). *Speaking in God's name: Islamic law, authority and women*. Oneworld Publications.

Abou El Fadl, K. (2005). *The great theft: Wrestling Islam from the extremists*. Harper.

Abū Dāwūd Sulaimān. (2008). *English translation of Sunan Abu Dawud* (Abū Khaliyl (ed.); 1st editio). Darussalam.

Adams, C. C. (2010). *Islam and Modernism: A Study of the Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muhammad'Abduh*. The Other Press.

Adriana, I. (2012). Neloni, mitoni atau tingkeban: (Perpaduan antara tradisi Jawa dan ritualitas masyarakat Muslim). *KARSA: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture*, *19*(2), 238–247. https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v19i2.69

Adriana, Iswah. (2012). Neloni, Mitoni atau Tingkeban: Perpaduan antara Tradisi Jawa dan Ritualitas Masyarakat Muslim. *KARSA: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture*, *19*(2), 238–247.

Afandi. (2021). *Hukum mengikuti perayaan isra miraj menurut Muhammadiyah*. Muhammadiyah.or.Id. https://muhammadiyah.or.id/hukum-mengikuti-perayaan-isra-miraj-menurut-muhammadiyah/

Afsaruddin, A. (1999). Introduction: The hermeneutics of gendered space and discourse. In A. Afsaruddin (Ed.), *Hermeneutics and honor: Negotiating female "Public" space in Islamic/ate societies* (pp. 1–20). Harvard University Press.

Ahearn, L. M. (2001). Language and agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *30*(1), 109–137. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-04681-1_8

Ahmad, F. (2015). *Kiprah cemerlang Muslimat NU di usia 73 Tahun*. NUonline. http://www.nu.or.id/post/read/101927/kiprah-cemerlang-muslimat-nu-di-usia-73-tahun

Ahmad, F. (2022). *Penjelasan struktur kepengurusan di NU: Mustasyar, syuriyah, a'wan,*

dan tanfidziyah. NUonline. https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/penjelasan-struktur-kepengurusan-di-nu-mustasyar-syuriyah-a-wan-dan-tanfidziyah-kfzL3

Ahmad, S. (2013). Al-Huda and Women's Religious Authority in Urban Pakistan. *The Muslim World*, *103*(3), 363–374. https://doi.org/10.1111/muwo.l2019

Ahmadi, F. (2006). Islamic feminism in Iran: Feminism in a new Islamic context. *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, *22*(2), 33–53. https://doi.org/10.2979/FSR.2006.22.2.33

Ahmed, A. M. (1988). Somali traditional healers: Role and status. *The Third International Congress of Somali Studies*, 240–247.

Aibak, K. (2010). Fenomena tradisi megengan di Tulungagung. *Millah*, *10*(1), 68–86. https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol10.iss1.art5

Akbar, A. (2011). Pencetakan mushaf al-Qur'an di Indonesia. *Suhuf, Jurnal Kajian Al-Qur'an Dan Kebudayaan*, *4*(2), 271–287.

Al-'Afraj, A. (2009). *Mafhūm al-bid'ah wa aṡaruhu fī iẓṭirāb al-fatāwā al-mu'āṣirah*. Dār al-Fatḥ Li ad-Dirāsāt wa an-Nasyr.

al-Aṡarī, A. A. (n.d.). *At-Tawassul al-masyru'wa al-mamnu'*. Dār Ibn Khuzaimah.

Al-Atawneh, M. (2014). In search of religious authority: The international union of Muslim scholars. In M. Ephrat, D., & Hatina (Ed.), *Religious Knowledge, Authority, and Charisma: Islamic and Jewish Perspectives* (pp. 225–241). University of Utah Press.

Al-Bukhārī, M. I. (1997). *The translation of the meanings of Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī: Arabic-English translated by Muhammad Muhsin Khan*. Darussalam.

Al-Bukhari, M. ibn I., & Khan, M. M. (1997). *The translation of the meanings of Sahih al-Bukhari: Arabic-English Sahih al-Bukhari*. Darussalam Publishers and Distributors.

Al-Harawī, A. (1994). *Al-Maṣnu' fī ma'rifati al-ḥadiṭ al-mauḍū'*. Dār al-Basyāir al-Islāmiyyah.

Al-Husharī, M. (n.d.). *Aḥkām Qirāah Al-Qur'ān*. al-Maktabah al-Makkiyah and Dār al-Basyāir al-Islāmiyyah.

al-Jadī', N. A. M. (1990). *At-Tabarruk: Anwā'uhu wa aḥkāmuhu*. Maktabah ar-Rusyd.

Al-Mahmah, M. A. (1978). *Al-Mar'ah al-maghrībiyyah wa at-taṣawwuf fī al-qarn al-ḥādī al-hijrī*. Dar al-Kitab.

Al-Maliki, M., & an-Nūrī, H. S. (1996). *Ibānah al-aḥkām syarḥ bulūgh al-marām*. Dar al-Fikr.

Al-Mubārakfūriy, M. (2008). *Tuḥfa al-aḥwaẓī bi sharḥi jāmi' al-tirmidhi*. Dār al-Fikr.

Al-Qaradāwī, Y. (1995). *Al-'ibādah fī al-Islām*. Maktabah Wahbah.

Al-Qurtubi, M. (1985). *Bidāyah al-Mujtahid wa Nihāyah al-Muqtaṣid* (5th ed.). Dār al-Ma'rifah.

Al-Rasheed, M. (2013). *A most masculine state: Gender, politics, and religion in Saudi Arabia*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v31i4.1072

Alawi, A. (2012). *Ulama NU pakar dalam kitab kuning dan memahami Qur'an*. NUonline. https://nu.or.id/nasional/ulama-nu-pakar-dalam-kitab-kuning-dan-memahami-qur039an-BLuwy

Alawi, A. (2015). *Ini tema muktamar NU Ke-33 di Jombang*. NUonline. https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/58077/ini-tema-muktamar-nu-ke-33-di-jombang

Alawi, A. (2018). *Kriteria ulama bukan tampil di Televisi, kempuan ini harus dimilikinya*. NUonline. https://nu.or.id/nasional/kriteria-ulama-bukan-sering-tampil-di-televis-kemampuan-ini-harus-dimilikinya-MkS2W

Alawiyah, F. (2014). Pendidikan madrasah di Indonesia, Islamic school education in Indonesia. *Jurnal Aspirasi*, *5*(1, June), 51–58. https://jurnal.dpr.go.id/index.php/aspirasi/article/view/449

Alawiyah, T. (1997). *Strategi dakwah di lingkungan majelis taklim*. Mizan.

Albani, M. A. (2015). *Kamus NU (Nahdlatul Ulama)*. IAIN Madura. http://repository.iainmadura.ac.id/288/1/Kamus NU.pdf.pdf

Albright, J., & Hartman, D. (2018). Introduction: On doing field analysis. In J. Albright, J., Hartman, D, & Widin (Ed.), *Bourdieu's field theory and the social sciences* (pp. 1–15). Palgrave Macmillan.

Alexandra et al. (2019). Disaster relief-based on local wisdom (A case study of flood region watersheds/das tuntang in Gubug region of Grobogan district). *Journal of Arts and Humanities*, *8*(9), 31–41. https://doi.org/10.18533/journal.v8i9.1713

Alfian. (1989). *Muhammadiyah: Political behaviour of a Muslim modernist organization under Dutch colonialism*. Gadjah Mada University Press.

Alhouseini et al. (2014). Stress assessment while listening to Quran recitation. *International Conference on Computer Assisted System in Health*, 67–72. http://ieeexplore.ieee.org/stamp/stamp.jsp?tp=&arnumber=7286672&isnumber=7286029

Amaliyah, E. I. (2007). *The meaning, ritual, and response of bersih desa in Sekoto's society, Pare Kediri*. Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Amin, W. R. (2017). Kupatan, tradisi untuk melestarikan ajaran bersedekah, memperkuat tali silaturahmi, dan memuliakan tamu. *Al-A'raf : Jurnal Pemikiran Islam Dan Filsafat*, *14*(2), 267–282. https://doi.org/10.22515/ajpif.v14i2.893

Amiruddin. (2017). Dinamika lembaga pendidikan tinggi Islam di Indonesia. *Miqot: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, *41*(1), 98–117. https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v41i1.314

An-Nasā'i, A. (1991). *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*. Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah.

An-Nawawī, A. Y. S. (2007). *Riyāḍ aṣ-ṣāliḥīn min kalām sayyid al-mursalīn*. Dār Ibn Kaśīr al-Ūlā.

Andrée, F., & Lies, M. (1998). Female circumcision in Indonesia: To "Islamize" in ceremony or secrecy. *Archipel*, *56*(1), 337–367. https://doi.org/10.3406/arch.1998.3495

Anies, M. M. (2009). *Tahlil dan kenduri, tradisi santri dan kyai* (M. Djamaluddin (ed.)). Pustaka Pesantren.

Anwar, K. (2013). Makna kultural dan sosial ekonomi tradisi Syawalan. *Walisongo*, *21*(November 2013), 437–468.

Anwar, S. (2005). Fatwa , purification and dynamization : A study of tarjīḥ in Muhammadiyah. *Islamic Law and Society*, *12*(1), 27–44.

Aqeel, M. (2009). Commencement of printing in the Muslim world: A view of impact on ulama at early phase of Islamic moderate trends. *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies*, *2*(March), 10–21.

Arab news. (2015). *Prophet's birthday celebration "sinful."* Arabnews.Com. https://www.arabnews.com/islam-perspective/news/683771

Arab News. (2021). *For the first time in Saudi Arabia, women authorized to issue fatwas*. Arabnews.Com.

Arendt, H. (1961). *Between past and future: Six exercises in political thought*. The Viking Press.

Arifianto, A. R. (2012). *Faith, moral authority, and politics: The making of progressive islam in Indonesia*. Arizona State University.

Arifianto, A. R. (2016). Islam Nusantara: NU's Bid to Promote "Moderate Indonesian Islam." In *RSIS Commentary* (Issue 114). RSIS.

Arifianto, A. R. (2017). Practicing what it preaches? Understanding the contradictions between pluralist theology and religious intolerance within Indonesia's Nahdlatul Ulama. *Al-Jami'ah*, *55*(2), 241–264. https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2017.552.241-264

Arifin, M. T. (1987). *Gagasan pembaharuan Muhammadiyah dalam pendidikan*. Pustaka Jaya.

Arifuddin, I. (2006). Efektivitas pendidikan kader ulama di berbagai pesantren. *Al-Qalam*, *XVII*(XII), 19–46. https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v12i1.577

Arthur, L. B. (1998). Deviance , agency , and the social control of women ' s bodies in a mennonite community. *NWSA Journal*, *10*(2), 75–99. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4316579

As-Sajelmasi, A. (2014). *Risālah fī aṡ-ṡawāb al-maẓkūr fī faḍli qirāah al-Qur'ān al-murattab 'alā ḥurūfihi*. Ar-Rābiṭah al-Muḥammadiyyah li al-'Ulamā'.

As-Sakhawi, M. (1985). *Al-Maqāṣid al-ḥasanah fī bayān kaṭīr al-aḥādīṭ al-musytaharah 'alā al-alsinah*. Dar al-Kitāb al-'Arabī.

aṣ-Ṣan'ānī, M. I. (n.d.). *Subulussalām syarḥ bulūgh al-marām*. Dār Iḥya' at-Turāṡ al-'Arabī.

As-Syarbīnī, S. M. (1997). *Mughnī al-muḥtāj ilā ma'rifati ma'ānī alfāẓ al-minhāj*. Dār al-Ma'rifah.

Asad, T. (2003). *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, modernity*. Stanford University Press.

Asad, T. (2009). The idea of an anthropology of Islam. *Qui Parle*, *17*(2), 1–30.

At-Tahhān, M. (2010). *Taisīr muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīṡ*. Maktabah al-Maarif.

At-Tirmidhi, I. (2007). *English Translation of Jami' At-Tirmidhi, Vol 3*. Darussalam.

At-Tirmiżī, M. I. I. (2007). *English translation of Jāmi' at-Tirmidhi translated by Abu Khaliyl*. Darussalam.

Austiyana, M. (2004). *Tingkeban, brokohan, selapanan*. University of Amsterdam.

Avishai, O. (2008). "Doing religion" in a secular world: Women in conservative religions and the question of agency. *Gender and Society*, *22*(4), 409–433. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243208321019

Aż-Żahabī. (2006). *Siyar a'lām an-nubalā'*. Dar al-Hadiṡ.

Az-Zuḥailī, W. (1985). *Al-fiqh al-Islāmī wa adillatuhu* (2nd editio). Dār al-Fikr.

Azhar/Din. (2019). *Ketua MUI bidang PRK jabat rektor perempuan pertama UIN Jakarta*. Mui.or.Id. https://mui.or.id/berita/25038/ketua-mui-bidang-prk-jabat-rektor-perempuan-pertama-uin-jakarta/

Azra, A., Afrianty, D., & Hefner, R. W. (2007). Pesantren and madrasa: Muslim schools and national ideals in Indonesia. In M. Q. Hefner, R. W., & Zaman (Ed.), *Schooling Islam: The culture and politics of modern Muslim educationducation* (pp. 172–198). Princeton University Press.

Azra, A. (2002a). Biografi sosial-intelektual ulama perempuan: Pemberdayaan historiografi. In J. Burhanudin (Ed.), *Ulama Perempuan Indonesia* (pp. xxi–xxxviii). Gramedia and PPIM UIN Jakarta.

Azra, A. (2002b). *Islam nusantara: Jaringan global dan lokal*. Mizan.

Baehaqie, I. (2017). Makna semiotis nama-nama makanan dalam sesaji selamatan. *Litera*, *16*(Oktober 2017), 203–216.

Bano et al. (2017). *Modern Islamic authority and social change, volume 1: evolving debates in Muslim majority countries* (M. Bano (ed.)). Edinburg University Press.

Barnes, S. T. (1990). Ritual, power, and outside knowledge. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, *XX*(3), 248–268.

Bartholomew, J. N. (1981). A sociological view of authority in religious organizations. *Review of Religious Research*, *23*(2), 118–132. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3511923

Basit, A. (n.d.). *Qalbul-Qur'ān Pusaka Sapu Jagat Cakra Jaya*. Maktabah Toko Bintang Terang.

Baumrind, D. (1991). Effective parenting during the early adolescent transition. In M. E. Cowan, P. A., & Hatherington (Ed.), *Family transitions. Advances in family research series*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

BBC news. (2017). *Kongres ulama perempuan pertama di Indonesia digelar di Cirebon*. Bbc.Com. https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-39701366

Beatty, A. (1999). *Varieties of Javanese religion: An anthropological account*. Cambridge University Press.

Beck, H. L. (1995). Islamic purity at odds with Javanese identity: The Muhammadiyah and the celebration of the Garebeg Maulud ritual in Yogyakarta. In J. G. Platvoet & K. Van Der Toorn (Ed.). *Pluralism and Identity : Studies in ritual behaviour* (pp. 261–283). Brill.

Beck, H. L. (2010). Muslim ritual practices and their multilayered messages in a non-Muslim environment: Examples from the Dutch context. *Temenos - Nordic Journal of Comparative Religion*, *46*(2), 197–213. https://doi.org/10.33356/temenos.4516

Beck, H. L. (2014). The contested state of Sufism in Islamic modernism: The case of the Muhammadiyah movement in twentieth-century Indonesia. *Journal of Sufi Studies*, *3*(2), 183–219. https://doi.org/10.1163/22105956-12341269

Beck, H. L. (2019). *Fenomenologi Islam Modernis: Kisah Perjumpaan Muhammadiyah Dengan Kebhinekaan Perilaku Beragama*. Suara Muhammadiyah.

Begemann, E., Rieger, A. K., Rüpke, J., Spickermann, W., & Waldner, K. (2020). Rituals and Habitus in the Ancient World: An Introduction. *ARYS. Antiguedad, Religiones y Sociedades*, *18*, 13–17. https://doi.org/10.20318/ARYS.2020.5696

Bell, C. (1993). The authority of ritual experts. *Studia Liturgica*, *23*(1), 98–120. https://doi.org/10.1177/003932079302300107

Bell, C. (1997). *Ritual: Perspectives and dimensions*. Oxford University Press.

Bell, C. (2009). *Ritual theory ritual practice*. Oxford University Press.

Berry, J. N. (2006). *Transforming rites: The practice of women's ritual making*. The University of Glasgow.

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, *46*(1), 5–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/026999497378467

Bhasin, K. (2006). *What is patriarchy?* Women Unlimited.

Bierstedt, R. (1973). The problem of authority. In *Readings in the study of leadership* (pp. 368–378). United States Military Academy.

Bilge, S. (2010). Beyond subordination vs. resistance: An intersectional approach to the agency of veiled muslim women. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *31*(1), 9–28. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256860903477662

Bintari, D. R. (2018). *Women's empowerment through active participation in Islam in Indonesia*. Sofia University Palo ALto California.

Birchok, D. A. (2016). Women, genealogical inheritance and Sufi authority: The female saints of Seunagan, Indonesia. *Asian Studies Review*, *40*(4), 583–599. https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1224999

Bloch, M. (1974). Symbols, song, dance and features of articulation: Is religion an extreme form of traditional authority? *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv Für Soziologie*, *15*(1), 55–81. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23997173

Bočko, V. (2016). Khitan perempuan: Who speaks for the Indonesian female circumcision? *Ethnologia Actualis*, *16*(2), 43–65. https://doi.org/10.1515/eas-2017-0004

Boddy, J. (1989). *Wombs and alien spirit: Women, men, and the Zār cult in Northern Sudan,*. The University of Wisconsin Press.

Boski, P., & Kwast-Welfeld, J. (1998). A quest for a more cultural and more psychological model of psychological acculturation. *14th Congress of the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Bellingham, WA*.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. (1992). An invitation of reflexive sociology. In *Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers canadiens de sociologie*. The university of Chicago press. https://doi.org/10.2307/3340841

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice (Cambridge studies in social anthropology,16), translated by Richard Nice*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-20702013000100001

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241–248). Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice, translated by Richard Nice*. Stanford University Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003115083-9

Bourdieu, P. (1993). *Sociology in question (Theory, culture & society series) translated by Richard Nice*. Sage publications.

Bourdieu, P. (1996). *Distinction : A social critique of the judgment of taste, translated by Richard Nice*. Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Pascalian meditations (R. Nice, Trans.)*. Polity Press.

Bouzar, P. B. (2012). "She is always present": Female leadership and informal authority in a Swiss Muslim women's association. In H. Bano, M. & Kalmbach (Ed.), *Women, leadership, and mosques: Changes in contemporary Islamic authority.* (pp. 279–300). Brill.

Bowen, J. R. (1993). *Religion and ritual in Gayo society*. Princeton University Press.

Brown, N. J. (2017). Official Islam in the Arab world: The contest for religious authority. In *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* (Issue May). Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. https://doi.org/http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep12946

Bruzzi, S., & Zeleke, M. (2015). Contested religious authority: Sufi women in Ethiopia and

Eritrea. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, *45*(1), 37–67. https://doi.org/10.1163/15700666-12340028

Buitelaar, M. (1991). *Fasting and feasting in Morocco: An ethnographic study of the month of Ramadan*. Radboud University.

Bunt, G. R. (2003). *Islam in the digital age: E-jihad, online fatwas and cyber Islamic environments*. Pluto Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt18fs6ck.14

Burhan & Asmiraty. (2019). The tradition of tahlilan on Ternate society. *The International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Invention*, *6*(03), 5347–5354. https://doi.org/10.18535/ijsshi/v6i3.02

Burhani, A. N. (2004). *The Muhammadiyah's attitude to Javanese culture in 1912 - 1930: Appreciation and tention*. Leiden University.

Burhani, A. N. (2005). Revealing the neglected missions: Some comments on the Javanese elements of Muhammadiyah reformism. *Studia Islamika*, *12*(1). https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v12i1.647

Burhani, A. N. (2006). The ideological shift of Muhammadiyah. *Jurnal Masyarakat Dan Budaya*, *8*(1), 1–22.

Burhani, A. N. (2017). Geertz's trichotomy of abangan, santri, and priyayi controversy and continuity. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, *11*(2), 329–350. https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2017.11.2.329-350

Burhani, A. N. (2018a). Islam Nusantara as a promising response to religious intolerance and radicalism. In *Trends in Southeast Asia series 21* (Issue 21). ISEAS. https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814376440-014

Burhani, A. N. (2018b). Plural Islam and authority in Indonesia. In N. Saat (Ed.), *Islam in Southeast Asia: Negotiating Modernity* (pp. 140–163). Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Burhanudin, J., & Baedowi, A. (eds). (2003). *Transformasi otoritas keagamaan: pengalaman Islam Indonesia*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama bekerjasama dengan PPIM, UIN Jakarta dan Basic Education Project, Depag.

Burhanudin, J. (Ed.). (2002). *Ulama Perempuan Indonesia*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

Burhanudin, J. (2007). *Islamic knowledge, authority and political power: The 'ulama in colonial Indonesia*. Leiden University.

Burhanudin, J. (2010). Traditional Islam and modernity: Some notes on the changing role of the ulama in early twentieth Indonesia. In N. J. Azra, A., Van Dijk, K., & Kaptein (Ed.), *Varieties of religious authority: Changes and challenges in 20th century Indonesian Islam* (pp. 54–72). IIAS and ISEAS.

Burhanudin, J. (2014). The Dutch colonial policy on Islam: Reading the intellectual journey of Snouck Hurgronje. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, *52*(1), 25. https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2014.521.25-58

Burke, K. C. (2012). Women's agency in gender-traditional religions: A review of four approaches. *Sociology Compass*, *6*(2), 122–133. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2011.00439.x

Bush, R. (2009). *Nahdlatul Ulama and the struggle for power within Islam and politics in Indonesia*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Campbell, H., & Teusner, P. E. (2011). Religious Authority in the Age of the Internet. *Center for Christian Ethics at Baylor University*. https://www.baylor.edu/content/services/document.php/130950.pdf

Campbell, H. (2007). Who's got the power? Religious authority and the Internet. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *12*(3), 1043–1062. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00362.x

Carvalho, C. (2018). I-imams studying female Islamic authority online. In N. V. Hashas, M., De Ruiter, J. J., & Vinding (Ed.), *Imams in Western Europe: Developments, transformations, and institutional challenges* (pp. 185–204). Amsterdam University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv9hvqh1.14

Cederroth, S. (1991). *From syncretism to orthodoxy?: The struggle of Islamic leaders in an East Javanese village* (3rd ed.). Nias Press.

Cederroth, S. (1995). *Survival and profit in rural Java: the case of an East Javanese village*. Curzon Press.

Chagas, G. F. (2011). Muslim women and the work of da'wa: The female branch of the tariqa naqshbandiyya-kuftariyya in damascus, syria. *Middle East Critique*, *20*(2), 207–218. https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2011.572416

Chagas, G. F. (2012). Preaching for converts: Knowledge and power in the Sunni community in Rio de Janeiro. In D. Baudoin, T. Pierret, P. Pinto, & K. Spellman-Poots (Eds.), *Ethnographies of Islam : Ritual Performances and Everyday Practices.* (pp. 71–79). Edinburg University Press in association with The Aga Khan University.

Chagas, G. F. (2013). Female Sufis in Syria: Charismatic authority and bureaucratic structure. In *The Anthropology of religious charisma: Ecstasies and institutions* (pp. 81–100). Palgrave Macmilan.

Chaves, M. (1994). Secularization as declining authority. *Social Forces*, *72*(3), 749–774.

Cieślewska, A. (2016). Transforming the social role of female religious professionals in Tajikistan. *Asian Studies Review*, *40*(4), 510–526. https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1229739

Coleman, J. A. (1997). Authority, power, leadership: Sociological understandings. *New Theology Review*, *10*(3), 31–44.

Corsun, D. L., & Costen, W. M. (2001). Is the glass ceiling unbreakable? Habitus, fields, and the stalling of women and minorities in management. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, *10*(1), 16–25.

Dar Al-Ifta Al-Missriyyah. (2021). *Celebrating Prophet Muhammad's birth*. Dar-

Alifta.Org. https://www.dar-alifta.org/Foreign/viewfatwa.aspx?id=6655&langid=2

Darabinia, M., Gorji, A. M. H., & Afzali, M. A. (2017). The effect of the Quran recitation on mental health of the Iranian medical staff. *Journal of Nursing Education and Practice*, *7*(11), 30. https://doi.org/10.5430/jnep.v7n11p30

Darmoko. (2002). Ruwatan: Upacara pembebasan malapetaka tinjauan sosiokultural masyarakat Jawa. *Makara Human Behavior Studies in Asia*, *6*(1), 30. https://doi.org/10.7454/mssh.v6i1.29

Daulay, H. P. (2006). *Pendidikan Islam dalam sistem pendidikan nasional di Indonesia*. Kencana.

Denny, F. M. (1985). Islamic ritual: perspectives and theories. In R. C. Martin (Ed.), *Approaches to Islam in religious studies* (pp. 63–77). University of Arizona Press.

Departemen Agama RI. (2000). *Pedoman penyelengggaraan dan pembinaan madrasah diniyah*. Depag.

Departemen Pendidikan RI. (1996). *Ensiklopedi nasional Indonesia*. PT. Cipta Adi Pustaka.

Dessing, N. M. (2001). *Rituals of birth, circumcision, marriage, and death among Muslims in the Netherlands*. Peeters Publishers.

Dessing, N. M. (2002). An Islamic wedding in a Dutch living room. *ISIM Newsletter*, *10*(1), 2002.

Dessing, N. M. (2012). Thinking for Oneself? Forms and elements of religious authority in Dutch Muslim women's Groups. In Masooda Bano & H. Kalmbach (Eds.), *Women, leadership, and mosques: changes in contemporary Islamic authority* (pp. 217–233). Brill.

Dewi, K. H. (2008). Perspective versus practice: Women's leadership in Muhammadiyah. *Sojourn*, *23*(2), 161–185. https://doi.org/10.1355/SJ23-2A

Dhofier, Z. (1978). Santri-Abangan dalam kehidupan orang Jawa: Teropong dari Pesantren. *Prisma*, *7*(5), 48–63.

Dhofier, Z. (1980). *The pesantren tradition: A study of the role of the kyai in the maintenance of the traditional ideology of Islam in Java* [The Australian National University]. https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/11271/1/Dhofier_Z_1980.pdf

Dhofier, Z. (1982). *Tradisi pesantren: Studi tentang pandangan hidup kyai*. LP3ES.

Dianteill, E. (2003). Pierre Bourdieu and the sociology of religion: A central and peripheral concern. *Theory and Society*, *32*, 529–549. https://doi.org/10.1007/1-4020-2589-0_4

Dietler, M. (2001). Feast: Rituals of consumption, commensal politics, and power in African contexts. In B. Dietler, M., & Hayden (Ed.), *Feasts. archaeological and ethnographic perspectives on food, politics, and power*. Smithsonian Institution Press.

Diktilitbang, M., & LPI, P. (2010). *Muhammadiyah, 1 abad Muhammadiyah: gagasan pembaruan sosial keagamaan*. Kompas.

Dillon, M. (2001). Pierre Bourdieu, religion, and cultural production. *Cultural Studies - Critical Methodologies*, *1*(4), 411–429. https://doi.org/10.1177/153270860100100402

Dirdjosanjoto, P. (1999). *Memelihara umat: Kiai pesantren-kiai langgar di Jawa*. LKiS.

Direktorat Pendidikan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam. (2015). *Nomor statistik PTKI*. Diktis.Kemenag.Go.Id. http://diktis.kemenag.go.id/bansos/cari_nspt.php

Dzuhayatin, S. R. (2015). Rezim gender Muhammadiyah: Kontestasi gender, identitas, dan eksistensi. In *Angewandte Chemie International Edition, 6(11), 951–952.* UIN Suka and Pustaka Pelajar.

Eickelman, D. F., & Anderson, J. W. (1997). Print, Islam, and the prospects for civic pluralism: New religious writings and their audiences. *Journal of Islamic Studies*, *8*(1), 43–62. https://doi.org/10.1093/jis/8.1.43

Eickelman, D. F., & Piscatori, J. (1990). *Muslim travellers: pilgrimage, migration, and the religious imagination* (D. and J. P. Eickelman (Ed.)). The University of California Press.

Eickelman, D. F. (1999). The coming transformation of the Muslim world. *Review of Faith and International Affairs*, *3*(3), 78–81. https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2009.9523388

Eickelman, D. F. (2014). The study of Islam in local contexts. In A. Rippin (Ed.), *Defining Islam: A Reader*. Routledge.

Ekowati, V. I. (2015). Tata cara dan upacara seputar daur hidup masyarakat Jawa dalam Serat Tatacara. *Diksi*, *15*(2), 204–220. https://doi.org/10.21831/diksi.v15i2.6608

El-ghobashy, M. (2005). Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *37*(3), 373–395.

El Haitami, M. (2012). Restructuring female religious authority: state-sponsored women religious guides (murshidat) and scholars (’alimat) in contemporary Morocco. *Mediterranean Studies*, *20*(2), 227–240.

Elass, R. (2009). *Search starts for the UAE’s first female mufti*. Www.Thenational.Ae. https://www.thenational.ae/uae/search-starts-for-the-uae-s-first-female-mufti-1.492409

Ensiklopedia NU. (2019). *Sejarah Jam’iyyah Ahlith Thariqah al-Muktabarah an-Nahdliyah atau JATMAN*. NUonline. https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/sejarah-jamiyyah-ahlith-thariqah-ai-muktabarah-an-nahdliyah-atau-jatman-Vqk4o

Ephrat, D., & Hatina, M. (Ed.). (2014). *Religious knowledge, authority, and charisma: Islamic and Jewish perspectives*. University of Utah Press. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com

Ernst, C. W. (2011). *How to read the Qur’an: A new guide, with select translations*. The

University of North Carolina Press.

Everett, J. (2002). The praxeology of Pierre Bourdieu. *Organizational Research Methods*, *5*(1), 56–80.

Fadeli, S. H., & Subhan, M. (2007). *Antologi NU: Sejarah, istilah, amaliah, uswah*. Khalista.

Faizin, M., & Alhafiz, A. (2016). *Ini dasar hukum tradisi walimatus safar haji*. NUonline. https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/69905/ini-dasar-hukum-tradisi-walimatus-safar-haji

Farhan, H. (2008). Ritualisasi budaya-agama dan fenomena tahlilan-yasinan sebagai upaya pelestarian potensi kearifan lokal dan penguatan moral masyarakat. *Jurnal Logos*, *5*(2), 84–101. http://digilib.umg.ac.id/files/disk1/1/jipptumg--hamimfarha-16-1-ritualis-n.pdf

Fathoni. (2015a). *Susunan lengkap pengurus LBMNU 2015-2020*. NUonline. https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/62236/susunan-lengkap-pengurus-lbmnu-2015-2020

Fathoni. (2015b, August 22). Inilah susunan lengkap pengurus PBNU 2015-2020. *NUonline*, Nasional. https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/61738/inilah-susunan-lengkap-pengurus-pbnu-2015-2020

Fattah, M. A. (2008). *Membaca surat Yasin*. NUonline. https://islam.nu.or.id/post/read/15071/membaca-surat-yasin

Fattah, M. A. (2009). *Keutamaan shalawat Nariyah*. NUonline. https://islam.nu.or.id/post/read/16656/keutamaan-shalawat-nariyah

Fattah, M. A. (2012). *Tradisi orang-orang NU*. Pustaka Pesantren.

Fealy, G. (1998). *Ijtihad politik ulama; sejarah NU 1952-1967*. LKiS.

Feillard, A. (2010). From handling water in a glass to coping with an ocean: Shifts in religious authority in Indonesia. In N. J. Azra, A., Van Dijk, K., & Kaptein (Ed.), *Varieties of religious authority: changes and challenges in 20th century Indonesian Islam* (pp. 157–176). IIAS and ISEAS.

Friedman, R. B. (1990). On the concept of authority in political philosophy. In J. Raz (Ed.), *Authority* (pp. 56–91). Blackwell.

Gaborieau, M. (2010). The redefinition of religious authority among South Asian Muslims from 1919 to 1956. In N. J. Azra, A., Van Dijk, K., & Kaptein (Ed.), *Varieties of religious authority: Changes and challenges in 20th century Indonesian Islam* (pp. 1–16). IIAS and ISEAS.

Gade, A. M. (2004). *Perfection makes practice: Learning, emotion, and the recited Qur'an in Indonesia*. University of Hawaii Press.

Gardjito, M. (2017). *Kuliner Yogyakarta-pantas dikenang sepanjang masa*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

Geertz, C. (1960a). The Javanese kijaji : The changing role of a cultural broker. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *2*(2), 228–249.

https://www.jstor.org/stable/177816

Geertz, C. (1960b). *The religion of Java*. The Free Press of Glencoe.

Geertz, C. (1976). *The religion of Java*. The university of Chicago press.

Gemmeke, A. B. (2009). Marabout women in Dakar: Creating authority in Islamic knowledge. *Africa*, *79*(1), 128–147. https://doi.org/10.3366/e0001972008000648

Gerner, D. J. (2007). Mobilizing women for Nationalist agendas Palestinian women, civil society. In V. M. Moghadam (Ed.), *Patriarchy to Empowerment: Women's Participation, movements, and rights in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia* (pp. 17–39). Syracuse University Press.

Ghiasi, A., & Keramat, A. (2018). The effect of listening to holy Quran recitation on anxiety: A systematic review. *Iranian Journal of Nursing and Midwifery Research*, *23*(6), 411–420. https://doi.org/10.4103/ijnmr.IJNMR

Gibb, H. A. R. (1947). *Modern trends in Islam*. The university of Chicago press.

Gilliat-Ray, S. (2006). Educating the culama: Centres of Islamic religious training in Britain. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, *17*(1), 55–76. https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410500399367

Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life: The role of race, religion, and national origins*. Oxford University Press.

Graham, W. A. (1977). *Divine word and Prophetic word in Early Islam: A reconsideration of the sources, with special reference to the divine saying or hadith qudsi* (J. Laeyendecker, L., & Waardenburg (Ed.); 7th ed.). Religion and Society. https://doi.org/10.2307/1569512

Graham, W. A. (2010). Islam in the Mirror of Ritual. In J. Hinnels (Ed.), *Islamic and Comparative Religious Studies: Selected Writings* (pp. 87–103). Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Graves, T. D. (1967). Psychological acculturation in a tri-ethnic community. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, *23*(4), 337–350.

Grenfell, M. (2014). *Pierre Bourdieu: Key concepts* (M. Grenfell (Ed.); Second edi). Taylor & Francis Group.

Gumilang, A. (2020). *Di tengah pandemi, kajian kitab kuning digelar secara online di ponpes Asshodiqiyah Semarang*. TribunJateng.Com. https://jateng.tribunnews.com/2020/04/25/di-tengah-pandemi-kajian-kitab-kuning-digelar-secara-online-di-ponpes-asshodiqiyah-semarang

Gunasasmita, R. (2009). *Kitab primbon Jawa serbaguna*. Narasi.

Hadi, A. Z. S. A., Ramlee, M. R., & Amin, N. M. (2018). Enhancing teaching and learning methodology with computing visualization in studies of qiraat (Malaysia). *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, *8*(2), 807–819. https://doi.org/10.6007/ijarbss/v8-i2/3989

Hadrawi, U. (2013). *Hukum khitan perempuan*. Nu.or.Id. https://islam.nu.or.id/syariah/hukum-khitan-perempuan-H4Igi

Haidar, M. A. (1998). *Nahdatul Ulama dan Islam di Indonesia*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

Hammer, J., & Spielhaus, R. (2013). Muslim women and the challenge of authority: An introduction. *Muslim World*, *103*(3), 287–294. https://doi.org/10.1111/muwo.12013

Hammer, J. (2012). *American Muslim women, religious authority, and activism: More than a prayer*. University of Texas Press.

Haq, H. (2019, October 25). Beda pendapat ulama soal berziarah ke makam wali. *NUonline*, Fiqih Perbandingan. https://islam.nu.or.id/post/read/112639/beda-pendapat-ulama-soal-berziarah-ke-makam-wali

Haryanto, A. T. (2018). *Tak masuk daftar Kemenag, 4 ustadz ini populer di medsos*. DetikInet. https://inet.detik.com/cyberlife/d-4030925/tak-masuk-daftar-kemenag-4-ustadz-ini-populer-di-medsos/5

Hasanah, U. (2016). *Majelis taklim perempuan dan pergeseran peran publik keagamaan pada masyarakat perkotaan kontemporer*. Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

Hassan, M. (2012). Reshaping religious authority in contemporary Turkey: State-sponsored female preachers. In H. Bano, M., & Kalmbach (Ed.), *Women, leadership, and mosques: changes in contemporary Islamic authority* (pp. 85–103). Brill.

Hawary, M. G. (2020). *Kyai Ahmad Dahlan dalam pemberdayaan perempuan*. Ibtimes.Id. https://ibtimes.id/kyai-ahmad-dahlan-dalam-pemberdayaan-perempuan/

Hefner, C. M. (2016). Models of achievement: Muslim girls and religious authority in a modernist Islamic boarding school in Indonesia. *Asian Studies Review*, *40*(4), 564–582. https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1229266

Hefner, R. W. (1985). *Hindu Javanese: Tengger tradition and Islam*. Princeton University Press.

Hefner, R. W. (2009). Islamic schools, social movements, and democracy in Indonesia. In M. Woodward (Ed.), *Making modern Muslims: The politics of Islamic education in Southeast Asia* (pp. 55–105). University of Hawai'i Press.

Helmiannoor, & M. (2019). Eksistensi dan dedikasi ulama perempuan terhadap pendidikan Islam di nusantara. *Syamil Journal of Islamic Education*, *7*(2), 87–99. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.21093/sy.v7i1.1782

Henning, E., Van Rensburg, W., & Smit, B. (2004). *Finding your way in qualitative research*. Van Schaik Publisher.

Hermansen, M. (2014). The Emergence of media preachers: Yusuf al-Qaradawi. In J. T. Moosa, E., & Kenney (Ed.), *Islam in The Modern World* (pp. 302–314). Routledge. https://about.jstor.org/terms

Hernawan, W. (2014). Abdul Halim and his movement (1911-1962) seeking historical roots

of Persatuan Ummat Islam (PUI) movement. *International Journal of Nusantara Islam*, *2*(1), 42. https://doi.org/10.15575/ijni.v2i1.47

Hilmy, M. (1999). *Islam and Javanese acculturation: Textual and contextual analysis of the slametan ritual*. McGill University Montreal.

Hjarvard, S. (2016). Mediatization and the changing authority of religion. *Media, Culture and Society*, *38*(1), 8–17. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443715615412

Hoda, R. (2019). Marwiyātu al-mukaśśirūna min aṣ-ṣaḥābah: ʿAdaduha wa asbābu kaśratuhā. *Al-Jinan*, *12*(1), 195–216. https://digitalcommons.aaru.edu.jo/aljinan/vol12/iss1/8

Hoover, S. M. (2016). Religious Authority in the Media Age. In S. M. Hoover (Ed.), *The Media and Religious Authority* (pp. 15–33). The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Horikoshi, H. (1987). *Kiai dan Perubahan Sosial*. P3M.

Hosen, N. (2004). Behind the scenes: Fatwas of Majelis Ulama Indonesia (1975-1998). *Journal of Islamic Studies*, *15*(2), 147–179. https://doi.org/10.1093/jis/15.2.147

Hosen, N. (2007). *Shari'a & constitutional reform in Indonesia*. ISEAS.

Hosen, N. (2008). Online fatwa in Indonesia: From fatwa shopping to googling a kiai. *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, *February*, 159–173.

Hotmaida, L. (2018). Pengaruh mendengarkan murottal al-Qur'an terhadap tingkat kecemasan pengguna narkoba program rehabilitasi di lapas narkotika kelas IIA Jelekong Bandung. *Jurnal Ilmu Kesehatan Immanuel*, *12*(1), 38–44. https://doi.org/10.36051/jiki.v12i1.29

Huda, S. (2011). Teologi Mustad'afin di Indonesia: Kajian atas Teologi Muhammadiyah. *Tsaqafah*, *7*(2), 345–374.

Humas Institut. (2014). *Prof. Dr. Hj. Huzaemah T. Yanggo, MA*. Iiq.Ac.Id. https://iiq.ac.id/tokoh/details/693/Prof-Dr-Hj-Huzaemah-T-Yanggo-MA

Hunwick, J. (2013). Secular power and religious authority in Muslim society : The case of Songhay. *The Journal of African History*, *37*(2), 175–194.

Husin, A. (2014). Leadership and authority: Women leading dayah in Aceh. In B. J. Smith & M. Woodward (Eds.), *Gender and power in Indonesian Islam* (pp. 62–78). Routledge.

Husnawati, A., & Setiawan, K. (2019). *Perbedaan pengajian Muslimat NU dengan majelis taklim lain*. NUonline. sumber: https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/108314/perbedaan-pengajian-muslimat-nu-dengan-majelis-taklim-lain

Hutson, A. S. (2004). African Sufi women and ritual change. *Journal of Ritual Studies*, *18*(2), 61–73. https://www.jstor.org/stable/44368695

Iannaccone, L. R., & Miles, C. A. (1990). Dealing with social change: The Mormon church's response to change in women's roles. *Social Forces*, *68*(4), 1231–1250. https://doi.org/10.2307/2579142

Ibn Abd as-Salām, A. M. I. (1991). *Qawā'id al-aḥkām fī maṣāliḥ al-anām*. Maktabah al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyyah.

Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, M. (2007). *English Translation of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim by Nasiruddin al-Khattab* (H. A. T. Z. 'Ali Za'i (Ed.)). Darussalam. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0006-3495(01)76109-7

Ibn 'Asākir. (1995). *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimasyq*. Dār al-Fikr.

Ibn Mājah, M. (n.d.). *Sunan Ibn Mājah*. Dār al-Fikr.

Ibn Manẓūr, M. ibn M. (1414). *Lisān al-'Arab*. Dār ṣādir.

Ibn Musa Afanah, H. (2003). *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī aḥkām al-'aqīqah*. el-Quds university.

Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, A. A. (n.d.). *al-Mughnī 'alā mukhtaṣar al-khiraqī*. al-Fijālah al-Jadīdah.

Ichwan, M. N. (2005). "Ulamā", State and Politics: Majelis Ulama Indonesia After Suharto. *Islamic Law and Society*, *12*(1), 45–72. https://doi.org/10.1163/1568519053123867

Ihlen, Ø. (2018). Symbolic capital. In W. Heath, R. L., & Johanesen (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of strategy, 1-4*. (pp. 1–4). Wiley-Blackwell. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/book/10.1002/9781119010722

Ilaihi, W. (2019). Online education: Online pesantren. In M. Hoondert & S. van der Beek (Eds.), *Ritual in Digital Society* (pp. 123–140). Institute for Ritual and Liturgical Studies, Protestant Theological University and Institute for Centre for Religion and Heritage University of Groningen.

Indriati, A. (2014). Ulama perempuan di panggung pendidikan: Menelursuri kiprah Nyai Hj. Nok Yam Suyami Temanggung. *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, *3*(2), 389–402. https://doi.org/10.14421/jpi.2014.32.389-402

Islam, S. (2012). The Qubaysiyyat: The growth of an international muslim women's revivalist movement from Syria (1960-2008). In H. Bano, M., & Kalmbach (Ed.), *Women, leadership, and mosques: Changes in contemporary Islamic authority.* (pp. 161–183). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004209367_009

Ismah, N. (2016). Destabilising male domination: Building community-based authority among Indonesian female ulama. *Asian Studies Review*, *40*(4), 491–509. https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1228605

Ismail, A. (2013). Ziarah ke makam wali: Fenomena tradisional di zaman modern. *Al-Qalam*, *19*(2), 149–164. https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v19i2.156

Ismail, F. (2002). *Islamic tradisionalism in Indonesia; A study of Nahdlatul Ulama*. Litbang Depag.

Ismail, F. (2011). The Nahdlatul Ulama: Its early history and contribution to the establishment of Indonesian state. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, *5*(2), 247–282.

Ismawati. (2000). Budaya dan Kepercayaan Jawa Masa Pra-Islam. In D. Amin (Ed.), *Islam dan Kebudayaan Jawa*. Gama Media.

Isnaini, R. L. (2016). Ulama perempuan dan dedikasinya dalam pendidikan Islam (Telaah pemikiran Rahmah el-Yunusiyah). *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, *4*(1), 2–19.

Ispranoto, T. (2017). *Kongres ulama perempuan di Cirebon dihadiri oleh 15 negara*. News.Detik.Com. https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-barat/d-3483496/kongres-ulama-perempuan-di-cirebon-dihadiri-oleh-15-negara

Jabali, F. (2006). Dissemination of religious authority in 20th century Indonesia. *Studia Islamika*, *13*(1), 165–169.

Jahroni, J. (2018). Ritual, bid'ah, and the negotiation of the public sphere in contemporary Indonesia. *Studia Islamika*, *25*(1), 1–35. https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v25i1.5308

Jainuri, A. (1990). Muhammadiyah sebagai gerakan pembaharuan Islam. In M. D. Syamsuddin (Ed.), *Muhammadiyah Kini dan Esok*. Pustaka Panjimas.

Jainuri, A. (1992). *The Muḥammadiyah Mmovement in twentieth-century Indonesia: A socio-religious study*. McGill University Libraries.

Jamaluddin, A. M. (2003). *An-Nisā' al-muhaddiṡāt fī al-'aṣr al-Mamlūkī: Dauruhunna fī al-ḥayāh*. Dār al-Hidāyah.

Jamhari, J. (2000). Book review: Pasang surut hubungan Agama-agama Jawa. *Studia Islamika*, *7*(1), 153–168. https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v7i1.720

Jannah, A. (2019). *Ulama perempuan Nahdlatul Ulama: Otoritas, gender, dan media Baru* [Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga]. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004

Jannah, H. (2019). *Ulama perempuan Madura: Otoritas dan relasi gender*. Universitas Airlangga.

Jaschok, M. (2012). Sources of authority: Female Ahong and Qingzhen Nüsi. In H. Bano, M., & Kalmbach (Ed.), *Women, leadership, and mosques: changes in contemporary Islamic authority* (pp. 37–58). Brill.

Jayawardena, K. (1986). *Feminism and nationalism in the Third World*. Zed Books Ltd.

Jinan, M. (2013). Intervensi new media dan impersonalisasi otoritas keagamaan di Indonesia. *Jurnal Komunikasi Islam*, *03*(2, Desember), 321–348.

Jinan, M. (2020). *Dialektika Muhammadiyah dan budaya lokal*. Muhammadiyah.or.Id. https://muhammadiyah.or.id/dialektika-muhammadiyah-dan-budaya-lokal/

Joy, S., Game, A. M., Toshniwal, I. G. (2020). Applying Bourdieu's capital-field-habitus framework to migrant careers: taking stock and adding a transnational perspective. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *31*(20), 2541–2564. https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2018.1454490

Junaedi, D. (2015). Living Qur'an: Sebuah pendekatan baru dalam kajian al-Qur'an (Studi kasus di pondok pesantren As-Siroj Al-Hasan desa Kalimukti kec. Pabedilan kab. Cirebon). *Journal of Qur'an and Hadith Studies*, *4*(2), 169–190.

Ka'bah, R. (1999). *Hukum Islam di Indonesia: Perspektif Muhammadiyah dan NU*.

Universitas Yarsi.

Kalmbach, H. (2008). Social and religious change in Damascus: One case of female Islamic religious authority. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, *35*(1), 37–57. https://doi.org/10.1080/13530190801890238

Kalmbach, H. (2012). Islamic authority and the study of female religious leaders. In H. Bano, M., & Kalmbach (Ed.), *Women, leadership, and mosques: Changes in contemporary Islamic authority.* (pp. 1–27). Brill.

Kamal, N. F., Mahmood, N. H., & Zakaria, N. A. (2013). Modeling brain activities during reading working memory task: Comparison between reciting Quran and reading book. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences 97*, *97*, 83–89. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.10.207

Kaptein, N. J. G., & Laffan, M. (2002). *Fatwas and religious authority in Indonesia* (Issue IIAS Newsletter). www.iias.nl/iias/agenda/archief/31102002.htm

Kaptein, N. J. G. (2004). The voice of the "ulama": Fatwas and religious authority in Indonesia. *Archives de Sciences Sociales Des Religions*, *125*(1), 115–130. https://doi.org/10.4000/assr.1038

Kelana, I. (2015, April). Bhayu Subrata dan Pratama Widodo (Penggagas gerakan one day one juz): Menjadikan baca Alquran sebagai gerakan. *Republika.Co.Id*. https://www.republika.co.id/berita/koran/tokoh-perubahan-republika-2014/15/04/30/nnly468

Kementrian Agama. (2020). *Pendaftaran program beasiswa santri 2020 dibuka, Kemenag siapkan kader ulama*. Kemenag.Go.Id. https://kemenag.go.id/berita/read/513107

Kersten, C. (2015). *Islam in Indonesia: the contest for society, ideas and values*. Oxford University Press.

Khafif, A. (n.d.). *Asbāb ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'*. Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī.

Khan et al. (2010). Mental and spiritual relaxation by recitation of the holy Quran. *2nd International Conference on Computer Research and Development, ICCRD 2010*, *May 2014*, 863–867. https://doi.org/10.1109/ICCRD.2010.62

Khodafi, M. (2015). Dinamika otoritas ulama perempuan Indonesia di ruang publik (Kebangkitan Nyai dalam komunitas Muslim tradisional Nahdlatul Ulama). In *Islam Indonesia pasca reformasi: DInamika keagamaan pada ranah sosial, politik, budaya, hukum dan pendidikan* (pp. 76–129). Imtiyaz.

Khoiri, A. M. (2016). *Tutup muktamar internasional Islam moderat, PBNU gaungkan Islam nusantara*. News.Detik.Com. https://news.detik.com/berita/3207345/tutup-muktamar-internasional-islam-moderat-pbnu-gaungkan-islam-nusantara

Kholifah, S. (2013). Gender Bias on Foucault ' S concept of panopticon in understanding the structure of pesantren (Islamic boarding school) in Indonesia. *Journal of Teaching and Education*, *2*(1), 105–122.

Kholil, L. (2017). *Membaca manaqib Syekh Abdul Qadir*. Nahdlatululama.Id.

http://nahdlatululama.id/blog/2017/10/04/membaca-manaqib-syaikh-abdul-qadir/

Khotimah, K. (2017). Peran kepemimpinan bu nyai dalam memanajemen pesantren (Studi kasus pesantren Al-Hidayah putri Karang Suci Purwokerto Utara). *Jurnal Penelitian Agama*, *18*(2), 336–355. https://doi.org/10.24090/jpa.v18i2.2017.pp336-355

Khozin, M. M. (2013). *Tahlilan Bid'ah Hasanah*. Muara Progresif.

Khusen, M. (2013). Contending identity in the Islamic ritual: The slametan among Surinamese Javanese Muslims in The Netherlands. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, *43*(2), 283–308. https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2005.432.283-308

Kim, H. J. (1996). *Reformist Muslims in Yogyakarta village: The Islamic transformation of contemporary socio-religious life*. ANU E Press.

Kloos, D., & Künkler, M. (2016). Studying female Islamic authority: From top-down to bottom-up modes of certification. *Asian Studies Review*, *40*(4), 479–490. https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1227300

Kloos, D. (2016). The salience of gender: Female Islamic authority in Aceh, Indonesia. *Asian Studies Review*, *40*(4), 527–544. https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1225669

Koentjaraningrat. (1963). Review of the religion of Java by Clifford Geertz. *Madjalah Ilmu-Ilmu Sastra Indonesia*, *1*, 188–191.

Koentjaraningrat. (1985). *Javanese culture*. Singapore Oxford University Press.

Kominfo Jatim. (2014). *Dirjen Pendis buka beasiswa pendidikan kader ulama*. Kominfo.Jatimprov.Go.Id. http://kominfo.jatimprov.go.id/read/umum/42089

Komisi Informasi dan Komunikasi MUI. (2019a). *Kepengurusan MUI*. Mui.or.Id. https://mui.or.id/kepengurusan-mui/

Komisi Informasi dan Komunikasi MUI. (2019b). *Sejarah MUI*. Mui.or.Id. https://mui.or.id/sejarah-mui/

Krämer, G., & Schmidtke, S. (2006). Introduction: Religious authority and religious authorities in Muslim societies. A critical overview. In S. Krämer, G., & Schmidtke (Ed.), *Speaking for Islam: Religious authorities in Muslim societies* (pp. 1–14). Brill.

Krüger, O., Nijhawan, M., & Stavrianopoulou, E. (2005). Ritual und agency: Legitimation and reflexivität ritueller handlungsmacht. *Forum Ritualdynamik*, *14*(September).

Kuitert, L. (2020). The art of printing in the Dutch East Indies: Laurens Janszoon coster as colonial hero. *Quaerendo*, *50*(1–2), 141–164. https://doi.org/10.1163/15700690-12341462

Künkler, M., & Fazaeli, R. (2012). The life of two mujtahidahs: female religious authority in twentieth-century Iran. In H. Bano, M., & Kalmbach (Ed.), *Women, leadership, and mosques: Changes in contemporary Islamic authority* (pp. 127–160). Brill.

Kupari, H. (2016). *Lifelong religion as habitus: Religious practice among displaced Karelian Orthodox women in Finland*. Brill.

Kurniawan, A. (2018a). *Tabarukan dalam pandangan aqidah aswaja*. NUonline. https://islam.nu.or.id/bahtsul-masail/tabarukan-dalam-pandangan-aqidah-aswaja-g0Ln0

Kurniawan, A. (2018b, October 30). Hukum perempuan mengantar jenazah ke pemakaman. *NUonline*, Bahtsul Masail. https://islam.nu.or.id/post/read/98270/hukum-perempuan-mengantar-jenazah-ke-pemakaman

Kurniawan, A. (2019, March 19). Riset JIC sebut pengajian online kitab kuning jadi tren di Jakarta. *NUonline*, Nasional. https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/103790/riset-jic-sebut-pengajian-online-kitab-kuning-jadi-tren-di-jakarta

Kusuma, R. S. (2018). Religious authority and social media: Indonesian da'i use of Facebook. *International Conference on Islam and Muslim Societies (ICONIS)*, *September*, 231–243. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004

Laan, N. T. (2016). *Dissonant voices: Islam-inspired music in Morocco and the politics of religious sentiments*. Radboud University.

Laffan, M. (2005). The fatwā debated? Shūrā in one Indonesian context. *Islamic Law and Society*, *12*(1), 93–121. https://doi.org/10.1163/1568519053123920

Laluddin, H., Norhoneydayatie, A. M., Azam, A., Bin Muhammad Husni, A., Zuliza, M. K., Ibrahim, I. A., Nazura, A. M. (2014). The contract of marriage and its purposes from islamic perspective. *Asian Social Science*, *10*(2), 139–144. https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v10n2p139

Latief, H. (2017). *Post puritanisme: Pemikiran dan arah baru gerakan Islam modernis di Indonesia 1995-2015* (1st ed.). LP3M Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

Le Renard, A. (2012). From Qur'anic circles to the internet: Gender segregation and the rise of female preachers in Saudi Arabia. In H. Bano, M., & Kalmbach (Ed.), *Women, leadership, and mosques: changes in contemporary Islamic authority* (pp. 105–126). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004209367_007

Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengembangan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah. (2010). *Susunan pengurus dan personalia Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengembangan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah periode 2010-2015*. Muhammadiyah.or.Id. http://litbang.muhammadiyah.or.id/content-11-sdet-personalia.html

Liku-liku berdirinya Muslimat NU. (2019). Nu.or.Id.

Lindsey, T. (2012). Monopolising Islam: The Indonesian ulama council and state regulation of the "Islamic economy." *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, *48*(2), 253–274. https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2012.694157

LPCR PP Muhammadiyah. (2015). *Anggota pimpinan LPCR PP Muhammadiyah periode 2015-2020*. Muhammadiyah.or.Id. http://lpcr.muhammadiyah.or.id/content-7-sdet-anggota-pimpinan.html

LTN-PBNU. (2011). *Ahkamul fuqaha, solusi problematika hukum Islam: Keputusan muktamar, munas, dan konbes Nahdlatul Ulama*. LTN PBNU-Khalista.

Lukens-bull, R. A. (1999). Between text and practice : Considerations in the anthropological study of Islam. *Marburg Journal of Religion*, *4*(2), 1–10.

Lukens-Bull, R. A. (2001). Two sides of the same coin : Modernity and tradition in Islamic education in Indonesia. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *32*(3, September), 350–372. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3195992

Machasin. (2010). Struggle for authority between formal religious institution and informal-local leaders. In N. J. Azra, A., Van Dijk, K., & Kaptein (Ed.), *Varieties of religious authority: Changes and challenges in 20th century Indonesian Islam* (pp. 115–125). IIAS and ISEAS.

Maclachlan, B. (2016). Inhabiting/subverting the norms: Women's ritual agency in Greek West. In L. (Eds. . Dillon, M., Eidinow, E., & Maurizio (Ed.), *Women's ritual competence in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean* ((1st ed.)). Routledge. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315546506

Mahmood, S. (2005). *Politics of piety: The Islamic revival and the feminist subject*. Princeton University Press.

Mahmūd, A. M. M. (n.d.). *Aḥkām al-khitān fī ḍau'i as-syarī'ah al-Islāmiyyah*. Kulliyyah ad-Dirāsah al-Islāmiyyah wa al-'Arabiyyah li al-Banāt Jāmi'ah al-Jauf.

Majelis Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah. (2010). *Susunan pengurus dan personalia Majelis Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah periode 2010-2015*. Muhammadiyah.or.Id. http://dikdasmen.muhammadiyah.or.id/content-12-sdet-personalia.html

Majelis Pendidikan Kader Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah. (2010). *Susunan pengurus dan personalia Majelis Pendidikan Kader Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah periode 2010-2015*. Muhammadiyah.or.Id. http://mpk.muhammadiyah.or.id/content-21-sdet-personalia.html

Majelis Tabligh Muhammadiyah. (n.d.). *Sejarah*. Tabligh.Muhammadiyah.or.Id.

Majelis Tabligh Muhammadiyah. (2015). *Susunan dan personalia anggota pimpinan Majelis Tabligh Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah periode 2015-2020*. Muhammadiyah.or.Id. http://tabligh.muhammadiyah.or.id/content-17-sdet-personalia.html

Majelis Tarjih&Tajdid PP Muhammadiyah. (2013). *Hukum dan tuntunan ziarah kubur*. Tarjih.or.Id. https://tarjih.or.id/hukum-dan-tuntunan-ziarah-kubur/

Majelis Tarjih&Tajdid PP Muhammadiyah. (2015). *Tanya Jawab Agama*. Suara Muhammadiyah.

Majelis Tarjih&Tajdid PP Muhammadiyah. (2019). *Memberi nama bayi saat aqiqah*. Tarjih.or.Id. https://fatwatarjih.or.id/memberi-nama-bayi-saat-aqiqah/

Majelis Tarjih&Tajdid PP Muhammadiyah. (2020). *Susunan dan personalia anggota pimpinan Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah periode 2015-2020*. Tarjih.or.Id. https://tarjih.or.id/struktur/

Majelis Tarjih&Tajdid PP Muhammadiyah. (2021). *Bolehkah aqiqah setelah dewasa?* Tarjih.or.Id. https://fatwatarjih.or.id/bolehkah-aqiqah-setelah-dewasa/

Majlis Tarjih Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah. (1982). *Adabul Mar'ah Fil Islam*. Majlis Tarjih Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah.

Mandaville, P. (2007). Globalization and the politics of religious knowledge: Pluralizing authority in the Muslim world. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *24*(2), 101–115. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276407074998

Manger, L. (2013). *Muslim diversity: local Islam in global contexts* (L. Manger (Ed.)). Routledge.

Mansurnoor, I. A. (1987). *Ulama, villagers, and change: Islam in Central Madura*. McGill University Montreal, Canada.

Marcoes, L. (1992). The female preacher as a mediator in religion: A case study in Jakarta and West Java. In V. B. et Al. (Ed.), *Women and mediation in Indonesia* (pp. 203–228). KITLV Press.

Marín, M. (2010). The ʿulamāʾ. In M. Fierro (Ed.), *The new Cambridge history of Islam* (pp. 679–704). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521839570.027

Masfiah, U. (2016). Pemikiran pembaharuan K.H. Abdul Wahab Chasbullah terhadap lahirnya Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). *International Journal Ihya' 'Ulum Al-Din*, *18*(2), 217–234. https://doi.org/10.21580/ihya.17.2.1737

Maskuroh, N. (2016). Nyi hj. madichah: Ulama perempuan cilegon dan tradisi maulid Fatimah. *Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Anak*, *3*(2), 81–94.

Massoweang, A. K. (2013). Hj. Siti Rohani Asykari: Berdakwah lewat majelis taklim. *Al-Qalam*, *19*(1, Juni), 67–74. https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v19i1.137

Masud, M. K. (2009). Ikhtilaf al-Fuqaha: Diversity in Fiqh as Social Construction. In A. et Al. (Ed.), *Wanted: Equality and justice in the Muslim family* (pp. 65–94). Musawah.

Mazumdar, S., & Mazumdar, S. (1999). Ritual lives of Muslim women: Agency in everyday life. *Journal of Ritual Studies*, *13*(2), 58–70. https://www.jstor.org/stable/44368562

McBride, M. (2016). A rational choice theory of religious authority. *Rationality and Society*, *28*(4), 410–438. https://doi.org/10.1177/1043463116658870

McKinnon, A. M., Trzebiatowska, M., & Brittain, C. C. (2011). Bourdieu, capital, and conflict in a religious Field: The case of the "homosexuality" conflict in the anglican communion. *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, *26*(3), 355–370. https://doi.org/10.1080/13537903.2011.616033

Middleton, J. (1960). *Lugbara religion: Ritual and authority among an East African people*. Oxford University Press.

Minesaki, H. (2012). Gender strategy and authority in Islamic discourses: Female preachers

in contemporary Egypt. In H. Bano, M., & Kalmbach (Ed.), *Women, leadership, and mosques: changes in contemporary Islamic authority* (pp. 393–412). Brill.

Möller, A. (2005). Islam and traweh prayers in Java: Unity, diversity, and cultural smoothness. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, *33*(95), 37–52. https://doi.org/10.1080/13639810500192541

Mouline, N. (2014). *The clerics of Islam: Religious authority and political power in Saudi Arabia*. Yale University Press. https://doi.org/10.1080/17496977.2012.737984

Muchtar et al. (2007). *Aswaja An-Nahdliyah*. Khalista.

Mudzhar, M. A. (1993). *Fatwas of the council of Indonesian ulama: A study of Islamic legal thought in Indonesia 1975–1988*. INIS.

Muhaimin, A. G. (2006). *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon: Ibadat and Adat Among Javanese Muslims*. ANU E Press.

Muhammad, H. A. (2011). *Risalah ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah: fi hadits al-mauta wa asyrath al-sa'at wa bayan mafhum al-sunnah wa al-bid'ah* (& team Amin, S. (Ed.)). LTM PBNU and Pesantren Ciganjur.

Muhammadiyah. (2019). *Aisyiyah: mencetak jejak sejarah*. Muhammadiyah.or.Id. http://arsip.muhammadiyah.or.id/id/content-199-det-aisyiyah.html

muidigital. (2017a). *Aliran Ahmadiyah*. Mui.or.Id. https://mui.or.id/wp-content/uploads/files/fatwa/13.-Aliran-Ahmadiyah.pdf

muidigital. (2017b). *Faham syiah*. Mui.or.Id. https://mui.or.id/wp-content/uploads/files/fatwa/06.-Faham-Syiah.pdf

Mulder, N. (1983). Abangan Javanese religious thought and practice. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde*, *2*(3), 260–267. http://www.kitlv-journals.nl

Mulkhan, A. M. (1990). *Warisan intelektual KH Ahmad Dalan dan amal Muhammadiyah*. Percetakan Persatuan.

Mulkhan, A. M. (2010). *Marhaenis Muhammadiyah*. Galang Pustaka.

Mumfangita, T. (2007). Tradisi ziarah makam leluhur pada masyarakat Jawa. *Jantra*, *II*(3), 152–159.

Muslim, A. (2017). Digital religion and religious life in Southeast Asia, the one day one juz (ODOJ) community in Indonesia. *Asia Scape: Digital Asia*, *4*(1–2), 33–51. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/22142312-12340067

Muslim Ibn al-Hajjaj, I. A. H. (2007a). *English Translation of Sahih Muslim vol. 2 by Nasiruddin al-Khattab* (H. A. T. Z. 'Ali Za'i (Ed.)). Darussalam.

Muslim Ibn al-Hajjaj, I. A. H. (2007b). *English Translation of Sahih Muslim vol. 7 by Nasiruddin al-Khattab* (H. A. T. Z. 'Ali Za'i (Ed.)). Darussalam. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0006-3495(01)76109-7

Musofer, R. P., & Lingard, B. (2021). Bourdieu and position-making in a changing field:

Enactment of the national curriculum in Australia. *The Curriculum Journal*, *32*(3), 384–401.

Mustaqim, M. (2017). Pergeseran tradisi mitoni: Persinggungan antara budaya dan agama. *Jurnal Penelitian*, *11*(1), 119–140. https://doi.org/10.21043/jupe.v11i1.2016

Muttaqin, F. (2008). *Progressive Muslim feminists in Indonesia from pioneering to the next Agendas* [Ohio University]. http://repositorio.unan.edu.ni/2986/1/5624.pdf

Muttaqin, Y. (2018a). *Budaya selamatan kehamilan dalam pandangan Islam*. NUonline. https://islam.nu.or.id/post/read/87463/budaya-selamatan-kehamilan-dalam-pandangan-islam

Muttaqin, Y. (2018b). *Empat motivasi ziarah kubur menurut Syekh Nawawi Banten*. NUonline. https://islam.nu.or.id/post/read/85822/empat-motivasi-ziarah-kubur-menurut-syekh-nawawi-banten

Muzadi, A. M. (2006). *NU dalam perspektif sejarah dan ajaran (Refleksi 55 tahun ikut NU)*. Khalista.

Muzakki, A. (2008). Islam as a symbolic commodity: Transmitting and consuming Islam through public sermons in Indonesia. In P. Kitiarsa (Ed.), *Religious Commodifications in Asia* (pp. 205–219). Routledge.

Nadwi, M. A. (2007). *Al-Muḥaddiṡāt: The women scholars in Islam*. Interface Publications.

Nadzir, I. (2019). *Is MUI beyond reform? Don't be so sure*. Indonesiaatmelbourne.Unimelb.Edu.Au. https://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/is-mui-beyond-reform-dont-be-so-sure/

Nakamura, M. (1980). Sufi elements in Muhammadiyah? notes from field observation. In *The Qur'an through Fourteens Centuries*.

Nakamura, M. (1981). The radical traditionalisrn of the Nahdlatul Ulama in Indonesia: A personal account of the 26th national congress, June 1979, Semarang. *Southeast Asian Studies*, *19*(2), 187–204.

Nakamura, M. (2012). *The crescent arises over the banyan tree: A study of the Muhammadiyah movement in a Central Javanese Town, c. 1910-2010*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Nashir, H. (2010). *Muhammadiyah gerakan pembaharuan*. Suara Muhammadiyah.

Nashrullah, N. (2019). *MUslimat NU raih penghargaan long life achievement*. Republika.Co.Id. https://www.republika.co.id/berita/q1j4n1320/muslimat-nu-raih-penghargaan-long-life-achievement

Nasih, A. M. (2009). Bahtsul masail dan problematikanya di kalangan masyarakat Muslim tradisional. *Al-Qanun: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Pembaharuan Hukum Islam*, *12*(1), 106–129. http://jurnalfsh.uinsby.ac.id/index.php/qanun/article/view/151

Nayef, E. G., & Wahab, M. N. A. (2018). The effect of recitation Quran on the human emotions. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social*

Sciences, *8*(2), 50–70. https://doi.org/10.6007/ijarbss/v8-i2/3852

Nelson, K. (2001). *The Art of Reciting the Qur'an*. American University in Cairo Press.

Nguyen, A. M. D., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2013). Biculturalism and adjustment: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *44*(1), 122-159.

Nielsen, R. A. (2019). Women's authority in patriarchal social movements: The case of female Salafi preachers. *American Journal of Political Science*, *64*(1), 52–66. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12459

Ningsih, W. L. (2021a). *Kerajaan Mataram Islam: Pendiri, kehidupan politik, dan peninggalan*. Kompas.Com. https://www.kompas.com/stori/read/2021/05/27/180905579/kerajaan-mataram-islam-pendiri-kehidupan-politik-dan-peninggalan?page=all#:~:text=KOMPAS.com - Kerajaan Mataram Islam,Danang Sutawijaya atau Panembahan Senopati

Ningsih, W. L. (2021b). *Kerajaan Mataram kuno: Letak, masa kejayaan, dan peninggalan*. Kompas.Com. https://www.kompas.com/stori/read/2021/05/20/161719179/kerajaan-mataram-kuno-letak-masa-kejayaan-dan-peninggalan?page=all

Nisa, E. F. (2018). Social media and the birth of an Islamic social movement: ODOJ (One Day One Juz) in contemporary Indonesia. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, *46*(134), 24–43. https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2017.1416758

Nisa, E. F. (2019). Muslim women in contemporary Indonesia: Online conflicting narratives behind the women Ulama congress. *Asian Studies Review*, *43*(3), 434–454. https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2019.1632796

no author. (2021). *Basis pendukung*. NUonline. https://www.nu.or.id/static/9/basis-pendukung

Noer, D. (1973). *The modernist Muslim movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942*. Oxford University Press.

NUonline. (2015). *Sekelumit profil, sejarah, dan prestasi Muslimat NU*. NUonline. https://nu.or.id/nasional/sekelumit-profil-sejarah-dan-prestasi-muslimat-nu-JRH7S

NUonline. (2018). *Melaksanakan tahlilan sampai berutang, apa hukumnya?* Nu.or.Id. https://islam.nu.or.id/post/read/85739/melaksanakan-tahlilan-sampai-berutang-apa-hukumnya

Nur, M. (2016). Pengembangan dakwah al-Khairaat di kota Palu. *Al-Mishbah: Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah Dan Komunikasi*, *12*(1), 29–42.

Nura'ini, D. S. (2013). Corak pemikiran dan gerakan aktivis perempuan (Melacak pandangan keagamaan Aisyiyah periode 1917-1945). *Profetika: Jurnal Studi Islam*, *14*(2), 125–138.

Nurlaelawati, E., & Salim, A. (2013). Gendering the Islamic judiciary: Female judges in the religious courts of Indonesia. *Al-Jami'ah*, *51*(2), 247–278. https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2013.512.247-278

Olin, G.S., E. P. B. et al. (2019). Baraka. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Second Edi). Brill Reference Online.

Omar, S. (2013). Al-qubaysiyyāt: Negotiating female religious authority in damascus. *Muslim World*, *103*(3), 347–362. https://doi.org/10.1111/muwo.12018

Ozorak, E. W. (1996). The power, but not the glory: How women empower themselves through religion. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *35*(1), 17–29.

Partokusumo, K. K. (1995). *Kebudayaan Jawa, dan perpaduannya dengan Islam*. IKAPI Cabang Yogyakarta.

Peacock, J. L. (2017). *Purifying the faith: the Muhammadijah movement in Indonesian Islam*. The University of North Carolina Press.

Pendidikan Ulama Tarjih Muhammadiyah. (2020). *Profil PUTM*. Putmppmuhammadiyah.Org. https://putmppmuhammadiyah.org/profil-putm/

Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama. (2015). *Anggaran dasar dan anggaran rumah tangga Nahdlatul Ulama* (2nd ed.). Lembaga Ta'lif wan Nasyr PBNU.

Pengurus Pusat Muslimat NU. (2000). *Hasil-hasil keputusan kongres XIV Muslimat NU periode 2000-2005*. PP. Muslimat NU.

Permana, P. E. (2020, November 27). Ini daftar lengkap dewan pimpinan MUI 2020-2025. *Republika.Co.Id*, Khazanah. https://republika.co.id/berita/qkft2m366/ini-daftar-lengkap-dewan-pimpinan-mui-20202025

Pimpinan Pusat 'Aisyiyah. (2012). *Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga 'Aisyiyah* (16th ed.). Pimpinan Pusat 'Aisyiyah.

Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah. (2004). *Dakwah Kultural Muhammadiyah*. Suara Muhammadiyah.

Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah. (2017). *Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah*. Suara Muhammadiyah.

Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah. (2020a). *Autonomous organization*. Muhammadiyah.or.Id. https://muhammadiyah.or.id/en/organisasi-otonom/

Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah. (2020b). *Statutes*. Muhammadiyah.or.Id. https://muhammadiyah.or.id/en/anggaran-dasar/

PP. Muslimat NU. (1952). *Sejarah Muslimat Nahdlatul Ulama*. Lembaga Muslimat NU.

Pramana, J. (2013). *Nilai pendidikan religi pada upacara selapanan dalam tradisi adat Jawa (Studi kasus di desa Talang kecamatan Bayat kaupaten Klaten)*. Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta.

Primkulova, M. (2017). *Traditional folks rituals and ceremonies as space for agency, power, and harmony for Uzbek women in Surkhandarya*. Utrecht University.

Purwoko, K. (2010). *NU serukan khitan bagi perempuan*. Republika.Co.Id. https://www.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/muktamar-nahdlatul-

ulama/10/03/27/108384-nu-serukan-khitan-bagi-perempuan

Pustaka, P. M. M. (1996). *Sejarah Muhammadiyah*.

PWNU Jawa Timur. (2016). *Keputusan Bahtsul Masail Maudhu'iyah PWNU Jawa Timur Tentang Islam Nusantara di Universitas Negeri Malang* (pp. 1–25). PWNU Jawa Timur.

Qibtiyah, A. (2018). Pengakuan dan pelibatan ulama perempuan di Majlis Tarjih dan Tajdid Muhammadiyah. In F. S. Hasyim, S. & Alim (Ed.), *Demokratisasi fatwa: Diskursus, teori dan praktik* (pp. 193–211). International Center for Islam and Pluralism.

Qibtiyah, A. (2020). Mapping gender issues in Islam through the views of Muhammadiyah/'Aisyiyah members in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. *Égypte/Monde Arabe*, *21*, 105–120.

Qomar, M. (2002). *Pesantren dari transformasi metodologi menuju demokratisasi institusi*. Erlangga.

Qomar, M. (2021). *Moderasi Islam Indonesia* (Rusdiantoro (Ed.); 1st editio). IRCiSoD.

Qusyairi, M. A. (2020). *"Ngaji Online" yang Mengubah Tren*. DetikNews.Com. https://news.detik.com/kolom/d-5015739/ngaji-online-yang-mengubah-tren

Rachmadani, F. (2020). Konsep Bid'ah Perspektif Muhammadiyah; Kajian Fatwa Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid Muhammadiyah. *Kalimah: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama Dan Pemikiran Islam*, *18*(1), 77–102. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.21111/klm.v18i1.3433

Rachmadhani, F. (2020). Konsep bid'ah menurut perspektif Muhammadiyah: Kajian fatwa Majelis Tarjīh dan Tajdīd Muhammadiyah ,. *Kalimah: Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Pemikiran Islam*, *18*(1), 77–102. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.21111/klm.v18i1.3433

Rafiq, A. (2014). *The reception of the Qur'an in Indonesia : A case study of the place of the Qur'an in a non-Arabic speaking community*. Temple University.

Rahman, F. (2015). Internet and kyais in Indonesia, negotiation of authority in mediatized environment. *Online-Heidelberg Journal of Religions on the Internet*, *09*, 81–106. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.11588/rel.2015.0.26252

Rahmawati, D. E. (2015). Gender discourse and women movements in Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). *Journal of Government and Politics*, *6*(2), 228–247. https://doi.org/10.7312/columbia/9780231158145.003.0004

Ramadhani, S. A. Z., & Abdoeh, N. M. (2020). Tradisi punggahan menjelang Ramadhan (Studi di desa Bedono kecamatan Jambu kabupaten Semarang). *Al-Mada Jurnal Agama, Sosial Dan Budaya*, *3*(1), 51–65. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31538/almada.v3i1.495

Ramli, M. I. (2010). *Membedah bid'ah dan tradisi dalam perspektif ahli hadits dan ulama Salafi*. Khalista.

Rasmussen, A. K. (2010). *Women, the recited Qur'an, and Islamic music in Indonesia*. University of California Press. https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520255487.003.0004

Rasmussen, Anne K. (2005). The Arab Musical Aesthetic in Indonesian Islam. *The World of Music*, *47*(1), 65–89. www.jstor.org/stable/41699623

Rausch, M. J. (2006). Ishelhin women transmitters of Islamic knowledge and culture in Southwestern Morocco. *Journal of North African Studies*, *11*(2), 173–192. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629380600704852

Rausch, M. J. (2012). Women mosque preachers and spiritual guides: Publicizing and negotiating women's religious authority in Morocco. In Masooda Bano & H. Kalmbach (Eds.), *Women, leadership, and mosques: changes in contemporary Islamic authority* (pp. 59–83). Brill.

Razak, Y., & Mundzir, I. (2019). Otoritas agama ulama perempuan: Relevansi pemikiran Nyai Masriyah Amva terhadap kesetaraan jender dan pluralisme. *PALASTREN Jurnal Studi Gender*, *12*(2), 397. https://doi.org/10.21043/palastren.v12i2.5981

Read, J. G., & Bartkowski, J. P. (2000). To veil or not to veil? A case study of identity negotiation among Muslim women in Austin Texas. *Gender and Society*, *14*(3, June), 395–417. https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-0353-0405-3

Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. (1936). Memorandum on the study of acculturation. *American Antropologist*, *38*, 149–152.

Retsikas, K. (2012). *Becoming An Anthropological Approach to Understandings of the Person in Java*. Anthem Press.

Rey, T. (2007). *Bourdieu on religion: Imposing faith and legitimacy* (S. Enngler (Ed.)). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.1093/socrel/srq013

Riana, F., Nugraha, R. M., & Arkyasa, M. (2021). *Setara Institute criticize MUI following alleged terrorist arrest*. En.Tempo.Co. https://en.tempo.co/read/1530075/setara-institute-criticize-mui-following-alleged-terrorist-arrest

Ricklefs, M. C. (1981). *A history of modern Indonesia: c. 1300 to the Present*. Macmillan.

Ricklefs, M. C. (2006). *Mystic synthesis in Java: A history of Islamization from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth centuries*. EastBridge.

Ridha, M. R. (2006). *Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām al-Shaikh Muḥammad Abduh*. Dār al-Fadhīla.

Ridho, A. (2019). Tradisi megengan dalam menyambut Ramadhan: Living Qur'an sebagai kearifan lokal menyemai Islam di Jawa. *Jurnal Literasiologi*, *1*(2 Juli-Desember), 24–50.

Rinaldo, R. (2013). *Mobilizing piety: Islam and feminism in Indonesia*. Oxford University Press.

Rinaldo, R. (2014). Pious and critical: Muslim women activists and the question of agency.

Gender and Society, *28*(6), 824–846. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243214549352

Ro'fah. (2016). *Posisi dan jati diri 'Aisyiyah: perubahan dan perkembangan (1917-1998)*. Suara Muhammadiyah.

Robinson, F. (1993). Technology and religious change: Islam and the Impact of print. *Modern Asian Studies*, *27*(1), 229–251. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X00016127

Rofiq, A. (2019). Tradisi slametan Jawa dalam perspektif pendidikan Islam. *Attaqwa Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan Islam*, *15*(2 September), 93–107. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3383133

Rohim, A. (2019). *Muqoddaman, cara orang Nusantara menjaga Alquran*. Alif.Id. https://alif.id/read/aro/muqoddaman-cara-orang-nusantara-menjaga-alquran-b223208p/

Rosjido, S. (1989). Ulama Tarjih, pendidikan ulama dan pendidikan al-Islam. In Tim UMS (Ed.), *Muhammadiyah di penghujung abad 20*. Muhammadiyah University Press.

Roviana, S. (2014). Gerakan perempuan Nahdlatul Ulama dalam transformasi pendidikan politik. *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, *3*(2), 403–424. https://doi.org/10.14421/jpi.2014.32.403-424

Rozali, A. (2019, August 29). Ini lima jenis pendidikan kader dalam NU. *NUonline*, Nasional. https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/110351/ini-lima-jenis-pendidikan-kader-dalam-nu

Rozi. (2016). *Biografi KH Mufid Mas'ud*. Nahdlatululama.Id. http://nahdlatululama.id/blog/2016/08/03/kh-mufid-masud/

Rumadi, R. (2015). *Islamic Post-traditionalism in Indonesia*. ISEAS.

Rurin, A. M. (2019). Resepsi Alquran dalam tradisi pesantren di Indonesia (Studi kajian nagham Alquran di pondok pesantren Tarbitayul Quran Ngadiluweh Kediri). *Al-Bayan: Jurnal Studi Ilmu Al- Qur'an Dan Tafsir*, *3*(2), 101–118. https://doi.org/10.15575/al-bayan.v3i2.3202

Rusmawati, R., Riyanto, E.A., & Aminah, S. (2018). *Take the Islamic headscarf off*. https://repository.unair.ac.id/71844/3/JURNAL_Dis.S.01 18 Rus i.pdf

Ruswan, M. A. (1997). *Colonial experience and Muslim educational reforms: A comparison of the Aligarh and the Muhammadiyah movements*. McGill University Libraries.

Saat, N. (2018). *The state, ulama and Islam in Malaysia and Indonesia*. Amsterdam University Press.

Saat, N. (2021). *Growing shariatisation in Indonesia: The Ulama Council of Indonesia (MUI) moment?* Fulcrum.Sg. https://fulcrum.sg/growing-shariatisation-in-indonesia-the-ulama-council-of-indonesia-mui-moment/

Saefullah, S. (2016). *Ricky Adrinaldi: ODOJ itu lintas sektor, juga gerakan sosial*. Islampos.Com. https://www.islampos.com/ricky-adrinaldi-odoj-itu-lintas-sektor-juga-

gerakan-sosial-14158/

Saenong, F. F. (2021). Nahdlatul Ulama (NU): A grassroots movement advocating moderate Islam. In C. M. Upal, M. A., & Cusack (Ed.), *Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements* (pp. 129–150). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004435544

Saksono, W. (1995). *Mengislamkan tanah Jawa: telaah atas metode dakwah Walisongo*. Mizan.

Salim, A. (2019). Model pengkaderan ulama di Pendidikan Ulama Tarjih Muhammadiyah. *Jurnal Sosialita*, *11*(1), 1–10.

Salime, Z. (2008). Mobilizing Muslim women: Multiple voices, the Sharia, and the State. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, *28*(1), 200–211. https://doi.org/10.1215/1089201x-2007-065

Sardar, Z. (2011). *Reading the Qur'an: The contemporary relevance of the sacred text of Islam*. Oxford University Press.

Sayeed, A. (2013). *Women and the transmission of religious knowledge in Islam*. Cambridge University Press.

Schmitz, P. G., & Schmitz, F. (2022). Correlates of acculturation strategies: Personality, coping, and outcome. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *53*(7–8), 875–916.

Schwartz, S. J., Unger, J. B., Zamboanga, B. L., & Szapocznik, J. (2010). Rethinking the concept of acculturation: Implications for theory and research. *American Psychologist*, *65*(4), 237–251. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0019330

Sered, S. S. (1992). Women as ritual experts: The religious lives of elderly Jewish women in Jerussalem. In *Sociology of Religion*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/3711795

Setiawati, D. (2019). Slametan dalam spiritualisme orang Jawa pada masa lalu sampai sekarang. *MahaRsi Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah Dan Sosiologi*, *1*(1), 76–88. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.33503/maharsi.v1i01.357

Sewell Jr, W. H. (1992). A theory of structure: Duality, agency, and transformation. *American Journal of Sociology*, *98*(1), 1–29. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1086/229967

Sheikh, M., & Anderson, J. R. (2018). Acculturation patterns and education of refugees and asylum seekers: A systematic literature review. *Learning and Individual Differences*, *67*, 22–32.

Shihab, A. (1998). *Membendung arus: Respons gerakan Muhammadiyah terhadap penetrasi misi Kristen di Indonesia*. Mizan.

Shitrit, L. B. (2015). *Righteous transgressions: Women's activism on the Israeli and Palestinian religious right*. Princeton University Press.

Sholeh, M. A. N., & Zahiroh, L. (2017). *Hukum dan hikmah khitan laki-laki dan perempuan* (A. Syihabuddin, A., Saputra, H., & Prasetya (Ed.)). Erlangga.

Sholikhin, M. (2010). *Ritual dan tradisi Islam Jawa: Ritual-ritual dan tradisi-tradisi tentang kehamilan, kelahiran, pernikahan, dan kematian dalam kehidupan sehari-hari masyarakat Islam Jawa*. Narasi.

Siddiq, A. (1969). *Pedoman berfikir Nahdlatul'Ulama'*.

Siddiq, A. (2005). *Khittah Nahdliyyah*. Khalista.

Singh, V. (1961). The rise of Indonesian political parties. *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, *2*(2), 43–65. http://www.jstor.com/stable/20067338

Slama, M. (2017). Social media and Islamic practice: Indonesian ways of being digitally pious. In R. Jurriëns, E., & Tapsell (Ed.), *Digital Indonesia: connectivity and divergence* (pp. 146–163). ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute. https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814786003-015

Smith, B. J., & Hamdi, S. (2014). Between Sufi and Salafi subjects: Female leadership, spiritual power and gender matters in Lombok. In M. Smith, B. J., & Woodward (Ed.), *Gender and power in Indonesian Islam: Leaders, feminists, Sufi and pesantren selves* (pp. 25–48). Routledge.

Smith, B. J., & Woodward, M. (2014). De-Colonizing Islam and Muslim feminism. In M. Smith, B. J., & Woodward (Ed.), *Gender and power in Indonesian Islam: leaders, feminists, Sufi and pesantren selves* (pp. 1–22). Routledge.

Smith, B. J. (2014). When wahyu comes through women: Female spiritual authority and divine revelation in mystical groups and pesantren-Sufi orders. In M. Smith, B. J., & Woodward (Ed.), *Gender and power in Indonesian Islam: leaders, feminists, Sufi and pesantren selves* (pp. 83–102). Routledge.

Sofwan, R., Wasit, H., & Mundiri, H. (2000). *Islamisasi di Jawa: Walisongo, penyebar Islam di Jawa, menurut penuturan babad*. Pustaka Pelajar.

Sofwan, R. (2000). Interrelasi nilai Jawa dan Islam dalam aspek kepercayaan dan ritual. In D. M. Amin (Ed.), *Islam dan Kebudayaan Jawa* (pp. 119–138). Gama Media.

Soraya, D. A. (2020, October). MUI gandeng stakeholder luncurkan KSU. *Republika.Co.Id*, Khazanah. https://republika.co.id/berita/qi6qf9430/mui-gandeng-stakeholder-luncurkan-beasiswa-ksu

Sourdel, D. (2007). *A Glossary of Islam*. Edinburgh University Press.

Spellman-poots, K. (2012). Manifestations of Ashura among young British Shi'is. In B. Dupret (Ed.), *Ethnographies of Islam : Ritual performances and everyday practices* (pp. 40–49). Edinburg University Press in association with The Aga Khan University.

Spielhaus, R. (2012). Making Islam relevant: Female authority and representation of Islam in Germany. *Women and Gender: The Middle East and the Islamic World*, *11*, 437–455. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004209367_023

Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Participant observation*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.

Srimulyani, E. (2012). *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institution in Indonesia* (P. van der Velde (Ed.)). Amsterdam University Press.

Srimulyani, E. (2014). Gender in contemporary Acehnese dayah: Moving beyond docile agency? In M. Smith, B. J., & Woodward (Ed.), *Gender and power in Indonesian Islam* (pp. 66–80). Routledge.

Srimulyani, E. (2016). Teungku Inong Dayah: Female religious leaders in contemporary Aceh. In A. Feener, R. M., Kloos, D., & Samuels (Ed.), *Islam and the limits of the state: Reconfigurations of practice, community and authority in contemporary Aceh* (pp. 141–165). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004304864

Stausberg, M., & Engler, S. (Ed.). (2011). *The Routledge handbook of research methods in the study of religion*. Routledge.

Steenbrink, K. (1984). *Beberapa aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia abad ke-19*. Bulan Bintang.

Steenbrink, K. (1986). *Pesantren, madrasah, sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam kurun modern*. LP3ES.

Steinfels, A. M. (2010). Ritual. In J. J. Elias (Ed.), *Key themes for the study of Islam* (pp. 307–324). Oneworld Publications.

Suara Muhammadiyah. (2020). *Hukum menyembelih hewan untuk selamatan kematian yang diniatkan akikah*. Suara Muhammadiyah.Id. https://suaramuhammadiyah.id/2020/05/12/hukum-menyembelih-hewan-untuk-selamatan-kematian-yang-diniatkan-akikah/

Suara Muhammadiyah. (2021a). *Fatwa Tarjih hukum mengadakan peringatan maulid Nabi Muhammad SAW.* Suaramuhammadiyah.Id. https://suaramuhammadiyah.id/2020/10/28/fatwa-tarjih-hukum-mengadakan-peringatan-maulid-nabi-muhammad-saw/

Suara Muhammadiyah. (2021b). *Macam-macam bid'ah*. Suaramuhammadiyah.Id. https://suaramuhammadiyah.id/2021/01/21/macam-macam-bidah/

Subekti, D. A. (2015). *Peran lembaga Rahima terhadap kaderisasi ulama perempuan*. Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah.

Sudarmoko, I. (2016). *The living Qur'an: Studi kasus tradisi sema'an al-Qur'an Sabtu Legi di masyarakat Sooko Ponorogo*. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim.

Sulaiman, N. (1956). *Peringatan al Djamijatul Washlijah ¼ abad*. Pengurus Besar Al Djamijatul Washlijah.

Sultana, A. (2010). Patriarchy and women's subordination: A theoretical analysis. , 1-18. *Arts Faculty Journal*, *4*, 1–18. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.3329/afj.v4i0.12929

Sunarwoto. (2015). *Contesting religious authority: A study on dakwah radio Surakarta Indonesia*. Tilburg University.

Sundari, A. (2017). Isu gender di Indonesia dalam respon Nahdhatul Ulama. *Al-MAIYYAH :*

Media Transformasi Gender Dalam Paradigma Sosial Keagamaan, *10*(1), 103–114. https://doi.org/10.35905/almaiyyah.v10i1.451

Suraiya, I. (2005). *The women's movement in Indonesia: with special reference to the 'Aisyiyah organization* [The Temple University]. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaci.2012.05.050

Suraiya, It. (2005). *The Women's Movement In Indonesia: With Special Reference To The'Aisyiyah Organization*. Temple University.

Suratmin. (1990). *Nyai Ahmad Dahlan, pahlawan nasional: amal dan perjuangannya*. Pimpinan Pusat 'Aisyiyah Seksi Khusus Penerbitan dan Publikasi.

Sutarmo. (2005). *Muhammadiyah Gerakan Sosial-Keagamaan Modernis*. Suara Muhammadiyah.

Suwito, Sriyanto, A., & Hidayat, A. (2015). Tradisi dan ritual kematian wong Islam Jawa. *Ibda' Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam*, *13*(2), 197–216.

Syafei, A., & Suryadi, Y. (2018). Pengaruh pemberian terapi audio murottal Qur'an surat Ar - Rahman terhadap tingkat kecemasan pada pasien pre-operasi katarak senilis. *Jurnal Kesehatan*, *9*(1), 126–130. https://doi.org/10.26630/jk.v9i1.669

Syakir, N. F. (2020). *Santri dipulangkan, pesantren Gedongan Cirebon siarkan langsung pengajian*. NUonline. https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/118960/santri-dipulangkan--pesantren-gedongan-cirebon-siarkan-langsung-pengajian

Syakir, N. F. (2022). *Susunan pengurus lembaga dan badan khusus PBNU 2022-2027*. NUonline. https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/susunan-pengurus-lembaga-dan-badan-khusus-pbnu-2022-2027-WAFmP

Syam, N. (2005). *Islam pesisir*. LKiS Pelangi Aksara.

Syamsiyatun, S. (2007). Muslim women's politics in advancing their gender interests: A case-study of Nasyiatul Aisyiyah in Indonesia new order era. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, *45*(1), 57–89. https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2007.451.57-89

Syamsuddin, S. (2014). *Bapakku mbah Dalhar Munawwir*. Idea Sejahtra.

Syukriyah, L. (2016). Muslimat Nahdlatul Ulama di Indonesia (1946-1955). *Avatara E-Journal Pendidikan Sejarah*, *4*(3), 609–620.

Syukur, Y. (2018). The rise of female ulama in Indonesia: A gender perspective. *RISEA (Review Journal of South Asia)*, *1*(1, June), 17–28.

Taḥḥān, M. (2004). *Taisīr muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīṡ*. Maktabah al-Ma'ārif.

Taji-Farouki, S. (2004). Introduction. In S. Taji-Farouki (Ed.), *Modern Muslim Intellectuals and the Qur'an* (pp. 1–36). Oxford University Press in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies.

Tayob, A. (2010). The role and identities of religious authorities in The Nation State (Egypt, Indonesia, and South Africa compared). In N. J. Azra, A., Van Dijk, K., & Kaptein (Ed.), *Varieties of religious authority: Changes and challenges in 20th*

century Indonesian Islam (pp. 73–92). IIAS and ISEAS.

Tayob, S. (2017). *Islam as a lived tradition: Ethical constellations of Muslim food practice in Mumbai*. Utrecht University.

Thielmann, J. (2013). Islamic fields and Muslim techniques of the self in a German context. , 203-220. In A. Behloul, S. M., Leuenberger, S. & Tunget-Zanetti (Ed.), *Debating Islam: Negotiating Religion, Europe, and the Self* (pp. 203–220). The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek.

Tifada, D. A., & Mahabarata, Y. (2021). *Gus Dur criticizes MUI*. Voi.Id. https://voi.id/en/memori/105726/gus-dur-criticizes-mui

Tim detikcom. (2020, November 27). Ini struktur pengurus MUI 2020-2025: Miftachul Ketum, Ma'ruf ketua Wantim. *DetikNews.Com*, Berita. https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5271634/ini-struktur-pengurus-mui-2020-2025-miftachul-ketum-maruf-ketua-wantim/2

Tim PWNU jawa Timur. (2007). *Aswaja an-Nahdliyah: Ajaran ahlussunnah wa al-jamaah yang berlaku di lingkungan Nahdlatul Ulama*. Khalista and Lajnah Ta'lif Wan Nasyr (LTN) NU.

Tirakat. (2012). NUonline. https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/40738/tirakat

Triono, A. L. (2022). *Susunan lengkap pengurus LBM PBNU 2022-2027*. NUonline. https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/susunan-lengkap-pengurus-lbm-pbnu-2022-2027-QPNa5

Türkmen, G. (2021). *Under the Banner of Islam: Turks, Kurds, and the limits of religious unity*. Oxford University Press.

Turmudi, E. (2006). *Struggling for the Umma: Changing leadership roles of kiai in Jombang, East Java*. ANU Press. https://doi.org/10.1108/s2042-1443(2010)0000002009

Turner, B. S. (2007). Religious authority and the new media. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *24*(2), 117–134. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276407075001

Tyagi, J. (2014). *Contestation and compliance: Retrieving women's agency from Puranic traditions*. Oxford University Press.

Ulum, M. B. (2017). KH. M. Bisri Syansuri dan pembaruan pesantren. *FALASIFA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, *8*(September 2017), 195–212. http://ejournal.inaifas.ac.id/index.php/falasifa/article/download/85/53

Ulwan, A. N. (2000). *Child education in Islam*. Darussalam.

Unida Gontor. (2020). *Training for young Muslim scholars (PKU) (en)*. Unida.Gontor.Ac.Id.

Uphoff, N. (1989). Distinguishing power, authority & legitimacy: Taking Max Weber at his word by using resources-exchange analysis. *The University of Chicago Press Journals*, *22*(2), 295–322.

Urban, H. B. (2003). Sacred capital: Pierre Bourdieu and the study of religion. *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, *15*(4), 354–389. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23551281

Uswatun, H. (2016). *Kemenag Merespon Kelangkaan Ulama Perempuan dengan Beasiswa Khusus*. Santrinews.Com. https://santrinews.com/Nasional/6053/Kemenag-Merespon-Kelangkaan-Ulama-Perempuan-dengan-Beasiswa-Khusus

Utomo, S. S. (2005). *Upacara daur hidup adat Jawa*. Effhar.

Utomo, S. S. (2007). *Kamus lengkap Jawa-Indonesia*. Kanisius.

Van Bruinessen, M. (1990). Kitab kuning; Books in Arabic script used in the Pesantren milieu; Comments on a new collection in the KITLV Library. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-En Volkenkunde/Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia*, *146*(2–3), 226–269.

Van Bruinessen, M. (1994). *NU; Tradisi, relasi-relasi kuasa, pencarian wacana baru*. LKiS Pelangi Aksara.

Van Bruinessen, M. (1996). *Kitab Kuning, pesantren dan tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia*. Mizan.

Van Bruinessen, M. (1998a). *Rakyat Kecil, Islam dan politik*. Bentang Budaya.

Van Bruinessen, M. (1998b). *Tarekat Naqsabandiyah di Indonesia*. Mizan.

Van Bruinessen, M. (2013). Overview of Muslim organizations, associations and movements in indonesia. In Martin Van Bruinessen (Ed.), *Contemporary developments in Indonesian Islam: explaining the "conservative turn"* (pp. 21–58). ISEAS.

van den Boogert, J. (2017). The role of slametan in the discourse on Javanese Islam. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, *45*(133), 352–372. https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2017.1345166

Van Doorn-Harder, N., & De Jong, K. (2007). The pilgrimage to Tembayat: Tradition and revival in Islamic Mysticism in contemporary Indonesia. *The Blackwell Companion to Contemporary Islamic Thought*, 482–506. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470996188.ch29

Van Doorn-Harder, P. (2006). *Women shaping Islam: Reading the Qur'an in Indonesia*. University of Illinois Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0021911808001113

Van Lent, J. (1997). *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition. Glossary and Index of Technical Terms* (P. J. Bearman (Ed.)). Brill.

Vanderwaeren, E. (2012). Muslimah's impact on and acquisition of Islamic religious authority in Flanders. In B. Massoda & H. Kalmbach (Eds.), *Women, leadership, and mosques: Changes in contemporary Islamic authority.* (pp. 301–322). Brill.

Verter, B. (2003). Spiritual capital: Theorizing religion with Bourdieu against Bourdieu. *Sociological Theory*, *21*(2), 150–174. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9558.00182

Volpi, F., & Turner, B. S. (2007). Introduction: Making Islamic authority matter. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *24*(1), 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276407074992

Wadud, A. (1999). *Qur'an and woman: Rereading the sacred text from a woman's perspective*. Oxford University Press.

Wahid, A. (2001). *Pergulatan negara, agama, dan kebudayaan*. Desantara.

Wahid, D. (2012). Challenging religious authority: The emergence of Salafi ustadhs in Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, *6*(2, December), 245–264. https://doi.org/10.15642/jiis.2012.6.2.245-264

Wahid, W. G. A. (2004). Fiqh perempuan dalam perspektif Muhammadiyah (Telaah atas buku Adab al-Mar'ah fi al-Islam). *Sosio-Religia*, *3*(2), 185–210.

Wardani, A. A. (2020). *It was kind of safe: The role of the market in the everyday peacebuilding processes during the Ambon conflicts*. Tilburg University.

Watling, T. (2002). "Leadership" or "Dialogue"? Women, authority and religious change in a Netherlands community. *Sociology of Religion*, *63*(4), 515–538. https://doi.org/10.2307/3712305

Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology* (C. Roth, G., & Wittich (Ed.)). University of California Press.

Wehr, H. (1976). *A dictionary of modern written Arabic* (J. M. Cowan (Ed.); Third edit). Spoken Language Services, Inc.

Weinreich, P. (1998). From acculturation to enculturation: Intercultural, intracultural and intrapsychic mechanisms. *14th Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Bellingham, WA*.

Widigdo, S. A., & Homaidi, M. H. (2018). The power of fatwā in Indonesia: An analysis of MUI's controversial fatwās. *Afkaruna*, *14*(2 Desember), 146–166. https://doi.org/10.18196/aiijis.2018.0085.146-165

Winn, P. (2012). Women's majelis taklim and gendered religious practice in Northern Ambon. In *Intersections: Gender and sexuality in Asia and the Pacific* (Issue 30). Gender and Cultural Studies, School of Culture, History and Language, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University.

Winn, P. (2019). *The world's largest Islamic group wants Muslims to stop saying "infidel."* The World. https://www.pri.org/stories/2019-03-08/world-s-largest-islamic-group-wants-muslims-stop-saying-infidel

Wirjosukarto, A. H. (1985). *Pembaharuan pendidikan dan pengajaran Islam*. Universitas Muhammadiyah Jember.

Wisnumurti, R. (2012). *Sangkan paraning dumadi: Konsep kelahiran dan kematian orang Jawa*. Diva Press.

Woodward, M. (1988). The "Slametan": Textual knowledge and ritual performance in Central Javanese Islam. *History of Religions*, *28*(1), 54–89.

Woodward, M. (2011). *Java Indonesia and Islam* (Vol. 3). Springer Science Business Media.

Wu, K. (2013). Performing the charismatic ritual. In C. Lindholm (Ed.), *The Anthropology of religious charisma: Ecstasies and institutions* (pp. 33–58). Palgrave Macmilan.

Yayasan Mata Air & Alvara Research Center. (2017). *Potensi radikalisme dikalangan profesional Indonesia*.

Yayasan Nusantara Mengaji. (2016). *Mengenal pola khataman Al-Quran*. Nusantaramengaji.Com. http://www.nusantaramengaji.com/mengenal-pola-khataman-al-quran

Yunus, M. (1996). *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*. Hidakarya.

Yusupova, G. (2020). The religious field in a Russian Muslim village: A Bourdieusian perspective on Islam. *Ethnicities*, *20*(4), 769–792. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796820904208

Zahro, A. (2004). *Tradisi intelektual NU: Lajnah Bahtsul Masa'il, 1926-1999*. LKiS Pelangi Aksara.

Zainuddin, M. (2017). Peran ulama perempuan di Aceh (Studi terhadap kiprah perempuan sebagai ulama di kabupaten Bireuen dan Aceh Besar. *Takammul: Jurnal Studi Gender Dan Islam Serta Perlindungan Anak*, *6*(2), 165–177. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004

Zaman, M. Q. (2002). *The ulama in contemporary Islam: custodians of change*. Princeton University Press.

Zaman, M. Q. (2010). Transmitters of authority and ideas across cultural boundaries, eleventh to eighteenth century. In M. Cook (Ed.), *The new Cambridge history of Islam (3rd ed.)* (pp. 600–603). Cambridge University Press.

Zhang, S. H., Yang, G. P., Zhang, H. H., & Yang, J. (2014). Spatial variation of biogenic sulfur in the south Yellow Sea and the East China Sea during summer and its contribution to atmospheric sulfate aerosol. *Science of the Total Environment*, *488–489*(1), 157–167. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scitotenv.2014.04.074

Zhou, M. (1997). Segmented assimilation: Issues, controversies, and recent research on the new second generation. *International Migration Review*, *31*(4), 975–1008. https://doi.org/10.2307/2547421

Zulian, P. B. (2018). Fatwa in Indonesia: An analysis of dominant legal ideas and mode of thought of fatwa-making agencies and their implications in the post-new order period. In *Fatwa in Indonesia*. Amsterdam University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv157bk2

Zulkifli. (1994). *Sufism in Java : The Role of the Pesantren in the Maintenance of Sufism in Java February 1994* (Issue February). The Australian National University.

Zulkifli. (2013). The ulama in Indonesia: Between religious authority and symbolic power. *Miqot: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, *37*(1), 180–197. https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v37i1.79

Glossary

abdi dalem court officials

adat customary

ad-Durar al-Kāminah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Ṡāminah the Pearls Hidden in the Eight Hundred Notables

ahlulbait (Ar. Ahl-al bait) the household of the Prophet Muhammad

ahlussunnah wal-jamaah (Ar. *Ahl as-sunnah wa al-jamāʿah*). It refers to the saying of the Prophet: "The Jews split into 71 groups and Christians into 72, while my followers will split into 73. All groups will be in the hell, except one group. The companions of the Prophet (sahabah) asked: Who is the only saved group? Prophet replied: "Those are ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamaah (the followers of sunna and jamaah)". "What is ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamăah?" Ahl al-sunnah wa al- jamăah is what my companions are, and I am on it". It means all Muslims who follow the practice of the Prophet and his companions. In practice, the term mostly refers to those who follow the Asy'ari and Maturidi thoughts in the field of theology, adhere to one or more the four Islamic jurisprudence mazhab and practice the teachings of al-Ghazali and Junaid al-baghdadi in the field of ethics

akad nikah marriage contract

al-a'māl aṣ-ṣāliḥah acts of beneficence

al-asma' al-ḥusnā ninety-nine names of God

al-imām the leader

al-Lajnah ad-Dāimah li al-Buḥūṡ al-'Ilmiyyah wa al-Ifta` The Permanent Committee for Scholarly Research and Ifta

al-Ma'had al-'Ālī pesantren colleges

al-Manār the Lighthouse

al-muḥāfaẓah 'alā al-qadīm aṣ-ṣāliḥ wa al-akhdu bi al-jadīd al-aṣlaḥ preserving the good aspects of the old and adopting the better ones of the new

alun-alun kidul kota Yogyakarta the southern square of Yogyakarta city

amar makruf nahi munkar (Ar., al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa an-nahy 'an al-munkar) enjoin the right conduct and forbid indecent behaviour

amīr al-mu'minīn commander of the faithful

amr commandment

an-Nisā' al-Muḥaddiṡāt Fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī Modern women in the Mamluk Era

apa kata Bu Nyai what does Bu Nyai say

apem rice flour pancake

aqīqah the Islamic tradition of the animal sacrifice – one sheep for a baby girl or two sheep for a baby boy – on the child's birth occasion

arisan A form of rotating savings. Each participant of arisan pays a certain amount of money. The money is collected and given to one of the participants in rotation

asar (Ar., 'aṣr) Late afternoon prayer

'āsyūrā fasting on the tenth day of the month of Muharram

auliyā plural of walīy meaning a divinely leaders

ayat (Ar., āyah) verse of the Qur'an

ayat kursi the throne verse

azan (Ar., ażān) call for prayer

babaran, brokohan, or procotan a slametan held after the birth of a baby

Bahagian Tabligh the Religious Preaching Section

bahtsul masail the study of issues

bakso meatballs soup

batik a traditional textile made through a method of producing coloured designs on textiles by dyeing them, having first applied wax to the parts to be left undyed

bāṭinī esoteric

becak pedicab

berkah (Ar., barakah) blessing

berkat a package of food given to the guests of slametan

bersalaman shake hands

beskap Javanese-style male jackets

besluit decision

bid'ah (Ar., bid'ah) innovation

bid'ah ḥasanah good innovation

bid'ah makrūhah reprehensible innovation

bid'ah mandūbah recommended innovation

bid'ah mubāḥah permissible innovation

bid'ah muḥarramah prohibited innovation

bid'ah wājibah obligatory innovation

blangkon Javanese headdresses

camat the head of the sub-district

cendekiawan Muslim Muslim intellectuals

da'iyah (Ar., dā iyyāt plural of dā iyyah) female preachers

dakwah religious propaganda

dakwah kultural the concept of cultural propagation

Dār al-Iftā' al-Miṣriyyah Egypt's fatwa council

Departemen Agama Religious Department

desa or *kelurahan* village

dewan pakar expert council

Dinas Kesehatan Public Health Office

Direktorat Jenderal Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam Directorate General of Islamic Community Guidance

diunduh being invited to an event

Divisi Fatwa dan Pengembangan Tuntunan Fatwa and Religious Advice Development Division

Divisi Hisab dan Iptek Hisab Knowledge and Technology Division

Divisi Kaderisasi dan Organisasi Cadre and Organization Division

Divisi Kajian al-Qur'an dan Hadis the Qur'an and Hadith Studies Division

Divisi Kajian Ekonomi Syariah Islamic Economic Studies Division

Divisi Kajian Kemasyarakatan dan Keluarga Society and Family Studies Division

Divisi Publikasi dan Kerjasama Publication and Relations Division

doa Bersama communal prayer

doa iftitah opening prayer

duha (Ar., ḍuḥan) forenoon prayer. It is a voluntary prayer between the obligatory prayer of subuh and duhur

dus snack a small box of snack

dusun hamlet

Fatayat NU Nahdlatul Ulama young female members of NU

Fatwa (Ar., fatwā) religious legal opinion

fida' from the Arabic language, meaning ransom. It is a ritual of reading surah al-Ikhlāṣ several times

fikih (Ar., fiqh) Islamic jurisprudence

fikih wanita Islamic jurisprudence for women

gamis robe

gemar mengaji fond of reciting the Qur'an

Gerakan Pemuda Ansor NU Nahdlatul Ulama youth movement

ghusl major ritual ablution

hadith (Ar., ḥadīth) the Prophetic tradition

hadrah religious poetry chanting accompanied with tambourine instruments

ḥāfiẓ/ah male/female memorizer of the Qur'an

ḥalaqah group

hari pasaran market day

Ḥayāt kibār al-Ulamā' the Board of Senior Ulama

Hizbul Wathan boy scout

ḥukm judgment, decision

ibadah (Ar., 'ibādah singular form of 'ibādāt) a particular act of worship and service or worship and service of God in general or submission, obedience, and devoutness to God

Idul Adha the festival of animal sacrifice

Idul Fitri the festival of breaking the fast

ijab kabul vow of marriage

ijazah (Ar., ijāzah) authorization

ijmak sahabat (Ar., ijmā̆ ṣaḥābī) the consensus of the Prophet's companions

ijtihad (Ar., Ijtihād) the process of making Islamic legal decisions or independent reasoning of Islamic law

ijtihād jamāĭ collective ijtihad

Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah Muhammadiyah University Student Organization

Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah Muhammadiyah Student Organization

Ikhtilāf the different opinion in interpreting religious doctrines and prescriptions

iktikaf (Ar., i'tikāf) residing in the mosque for religious acts

imam (Ar. imam) the leader of prayer

iqāmah the second call for prayer

Islam itu indah Islam is beautiful

isra mikraj (Ar., isra' mi'rāj) the celebration related to the journey of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Jerusalem and heaven

istighfar seeking forgiveness of God

istighosah prayers for forgiveness

isya (Ar., 'isyā') evening prayer

Jamā'at al-Sayyidāt al-Muslimāt the Society of Muslim Ladies

Jamā'ah Ikhwān al-Muslimīn the Society of Muslim Brothers

Jamiat Chair (Ar., al-Jam'iyyah al-Khairiyyah) charity group

jenang abrit red porridge

juz (Ar., juz') thirtieth part of the Qur'an

kabupaten regency or municipality

kaderisasi seribu ulama thousand ulama cadre

kafad (Ar., khifāḍ) female circumcision

kaidah fikih (Ar. qawā'id fiqhiyyah) Islamic jurisprudence legal maxims

kalam (Ar., kalām) theology

kecamatan sub-district

Kementrian Agama Ministry of Religious Affairs

kenduren or kenduri derived from Persian language kanduri, meaning feast

khatmul qur'an complete reading the verses of the Qur'an

khurafat (Ar., khurāfah) superstition

kiblat (Ar., qiblah) facing the direction of Mecca

kirim doa a ritual of sending prayer

kitab kuning yellow paper books, mostly referred to books of the Syafi'i mazhab

Konferensi Besar Nahdlatul Ulama the Big Conference of Nahdlatul Ulama

kota city

krobongan a particular room at the house where the offering

kuliah subuh religious lectures delivered after subuh prayer

kumbakarnan a slametan performed one week before a wedding

kuttāb al-waḥyi scribes of the divine revelation

kyai male religious scholar

lajnah pentashih mushaf al-Qur'an committee of the Qur'an manuscript corrector

lajnah pentashihan mushaf al-Qur'an committee of the Qur'an manuscript correction

Lajnah Tarjih Tarjih Commission

langgar small mosque

latmiya self-flagellation of one's body in grief such as beating chests with a whip of chains and blades done by male participants or cutting their foreheads until blood streams from their body

Lembaga Amal Zakat Infak dan Shodaqqoh Charity, Donation, and Alms Institution

Lembaga Hikmah dan Kebijakan Publik Public Policy Institution

Lembaga Hubungan dan Kerjasama Internasional International Relations and Cooperation Institution

Lembaga Pembina dan Pengawasan Keuangan Finance Management Control Institution

Lembaga Penanganan Bencana Disaster Administration Institution

Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengembangan Research and Development Institution

Lembaga Pengembangan Cabang dan Ranting District and Sub-district Development Institution

Lembaga Seni Budaya dan Olahraga Sport, Art, and Culture Institution

Madrasah Islamic school which provides general and Islamic course

Madrasah Aliyah senior high schools

madrasah diniyah informal Islamic schools

Madrasah Tsanawiyah Islamic junior high schools

Majelis Ekonomi dan Kewirausahaan Economy and Entrepreneurship Council

Majelis Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia Law and Human Rights Council

Majelis Kesejahteraan Sosial Social Welfare Council

Majelis Lingkungan Hidup Environment Council

Majelis Pelayanan Sosial Social Service Council

Majelis Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Public Empowerment Council

Majelis Pembina Kesehatan Umum General Health Service Council

Majelis Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah Primary and Secondary Education Council

Majelis Pendidikan Dasar, Menengah dan Tinggi Primary, Secondary, and Higher Education Council

Majelis Pendidikan Kader Cadre Education Council

Majelis Pendidikan Tinggi Higher Education Council

Majelis Pustaka dan Informasi Literature and Information Council

Majelis Tabligh Religious Preaching Council

majelis taklim learning assembly, kind of pengajian or Islamic learning forum and religious gathering

Majelis Tarjih dan Pengembangan pemikiran Islam Tarjih Council and the Development of Islamic Thought

Majelis Wakaf dan Kehartabendaan Religious Endowment and Property Council

makrūh dislike

manaqib reading biography book of Shaikh Abd al-Qādir al-Jailānī, a Hanbali Sunni preacher known as the founder of tarekat Kadiriyah

mantra formula

maqbūl acceptable

mardūd rejected

masalah keagamaan hasil muktamar dan munas ulama Nahdlatul Ulama Rulings of the Legal Experts Based on the Congresses of NU

mawaddah love

mazhab school of law

mazhab manhajī referring to the Qur'an and hadith

mazhab qaulī identifying legal status of issues in Islamic law by referring to opinions of ulama

Menteri Pemberdayaan Wanita Minister of State for Women's Empowerment

midadareni and majemukan slametans given at the evening before the wedding ceremony

mie ayam chicken noodles

mitoni or tingkeban a slametan which occurs at the seventh month of pregnancy

moderat (Ar., tawassuṭ) moderation

modin religious official

muamalah (Ar., mu̓āmalah) social life practices and manages the relations among humans as well as between humans and the world they live

muballigat (Ar., muballighāt) female preachers

mufti official religious scholar

Mu'jam Maryam the dictionary of Maryam

mujtahid authoritative interpreter of the Islamic law

mujtahidin the consensus of independent legists

mukallaf religiously responsible, usually when a male or female Muslim reaches the age of fifteen years old

mukena prayer clothes for Muslim women

muktamar congress

mulk sovereignty, possession, power

mursyidah women preachers or female leader of Sufi order

musalla a small mosque

mushaf (Ar., muṣḥaf) the copy of the Qur'an

mustasyar advisory council

Musyawarah Nasional Alim Ulama National Conference of the Muslim Scholars

Musyawarah Nasional Tarjih National Tarjih Conference

Nahdlatul Watan The Revival of Homeland

Nahdlatut Tujjar The Revival of Tradesmen

Nasyiatul Aisyiyah Young women's organization of Muhammadiyah

neloni, ngapati, or ngupati a slametan done when the pregnancy reaches three or four

Neracha the Scales

ngaji online online religious study

nuzulul Qur'an (Ar., nuzūl al-Qur'an) the revelation of the Qur'an

nyai female religious scholar, usually the wife or daughter of a male religious scholar

nyekar scattering flower on the graveyard

nyepasari or sepasaran a slametan conducted five or seven days after the childbirth

organisasi otonom khusus special autonomous organization

Pagar Nusa the association within the NU organization for its members who engaged in the development of martial arts

pahala merit

pasang tarub a slametan practised one or two days before a wedding ceremony

Pemuda Muhammadiyah Muhammadiyah youth organization

pemurnian purification

pengajian informal religious study group

pengajian al-Qur'an Qur'anic study

pengajian umum informal religious public speech

penghulu religious official or village head

penyuluh religious instructor

perempuan mengaji women's Islamic study group

pesantren Islamic boarding school

Pimpinan Cabang District executives

Pimpinan Daerah Regional executives

Pimpinan Ranting Sub-district executives

Pimpinan Wilayah Provincial executives

pisang goreng fried banana

pondok Muhammadiyah Muhammadiyah boarding school

pondok pesantren tahfidz Islamic boarding school for the Qur'an memorization

priyayi aristocracy

program kajian Islam Islamic studies program

qahr domination

qāri'/ah male/female Qur'an reciter

qaul jadīd new fatwa

qaul qadīm old fatwa

qirā'ah learning the art of the Qur'anic recitation

qunut dụ̊ā performed in the standing up position of the last raka'at of prayer

quwwah power

Rahimah Centre for Education and Information on Islam and the Rights of Women

raḥmah mercy

rakaat (Ar., rak'ah) cycle of prayer

rapat dewan partai the party council meeting

rebana tambourine

resmi dan tidak resmi dalam Muhammadiyah official and unofficial within Muhammadiyah

ritual bersih desa cleansing of the village ritual

rujak Javanese salad contains different fruits mixed with peanut sauce and palm sugar

ruku' of the Qur'an verses on a common theme

ṣadaqah jāriyah ceaseless charity

sahabat (Ar., saḥābah) the companions of the Prophet

sajadah prayer rug

sakīnah tranquillity

salat prayer

salat jama'ah congregational prayer

salat jenazah funeral or mortuary prayer

salawat phrases said to praise the Prophet Muhammad

sanad chain of transmission

sarung sarong

sayyid descendants of the prophet

sayyid al-ayyām the greatest day of the week

seimbang (Ar., tawāzun) balance

semaan reciting and listening to the Qur'an among the memorizers of the Qur'an. Usually, some people gather in one place. One memorizer or more read the Qur'an from their memory and the participants listen to the recitation while watching the text in the mushaf. Another meaning of semaan is an activity in which some people gather to

recite the Qur'an, listen to the recitation, perform various religious acts from subuh prayer until the recitation of all Qur'anic verses is completed

silaturrahim maintaining friendship

Sjubbanul Watan Youth of Homeland

slametan communal feast meal

slametan nyapih weaning slametan when a child is fifteen to sixteen months old for a boy and eighteen to nineteen months old for a girl

slametan satu tahun a slametan held when a child reaches his/her one year of age

subuh (Ar., ṣubḥ) dawn prayer

sulṭān authoritative proof

sunatan or khitan (Ar., khitān) male circumcision

sunnah mu'akkadah a voluntary act which was performed by the Prophet continuously and was rarely abandoned

surah (Ar., sūrah) chapter of the Qur'an

syafaat (Ar., syafā'ah) intercession

syaikhah female religious teachers

syaitan (Ar. shaiṭān) devil

syarah hadith (Ar., syarḥ al-hadīth) explanation of hadith

syari'ah (Ar., Syarī'ah) canon law

syawalan/halal bi halal an event conducted in the month of Syawal where some people, usually from the same community or neighbourhood, gather in one place

Syażrāt aż-Żahab fī Akhbār min Żahab Gold Nuggets in the News of Gold

syirik (Ar., syirk) act of polytheism by associating other Gods with Allah

Syuriah Supreme Council

tabarukan from the Arabic word tabarruk, which means seeking blessing through something

tābi'ūn the generation of Muslims who followed the companions of the Prophet

tadarus (Ar., tadārus) studying, reading, maintaining, and discussing the verses of the Qur'an

tafsir (Ar. Tafsīr) commentary of the Qur'an or Qur'anic exegesis

tahajud (Ar., tahajjud) a voluntary night prayer

tahayul (Ar., takhayyul) imagination

tahlilan from the Arabic word hallala āuhallilu tahlīlan. Tahlīl means "utterance of the formula lā ilāha ilallāh"

takjil food and drink for breaking the fast

taklid (Ar., taqlīd) the uncritical follow of the existing religious sources as the final and authoritative character

Tanfiziyah Executive Council

Tapak Suci Muhammadiyah Muhammadiyah martial art

tarawih a particular prayer conducted at the night of Ramadan month

tasawuf mysticism

tauhid (Ar., Tauhīd) monotheism

tilawah (Ar., tilāwah) Qur'an recitation

toleransi (Ar., tasāmuḥ) tolerance

tumpeng yellow rice cones

Tunas Melayu the Malay Young Generation

ujub invocation

ulama religious scholar

ulama aktifis sosial politik religious figures within a socio political party

ulama kampus university lectures who master Islamic knowledge

ulama organisasi sosial keagamaan religious figures within a religious organization

ulama perempuan Indonesia Indonesian female ulama

ulama pesantren religious figures who are active in a pesantren circle

ulama tabligh preachers

ulumul hadith (Ar., ulūm al-ḥadīth) Sciences of the hadith

ulumul Qur'an (Ar., ulūm al-Qur'ān) sciences of the Qur'an

usul fikih (Ar., uṣūl al-fiqh) principles of Islamic jurisprudence

Usuluddin the faculty of Religious Studies

volk school public village school

walimahan (Ar., walīmah al-'urs) wedding banquet

walisongo nine saints

wasilah (Ar., wasīlah) intercessor

wayang traditional puppet theatre performance

wedana/pembantu bupati the assistant of regent

wirid see zikir

witir non-obligatory prayer performed at night after isya time until before subuh prayer during or outside the Ramadan month

wong cilik common people

wudu (Ar., wuḍu') ablutions

yasinan reading surah Yāsīn together

ẓāhirī exoteric

zikir (Ar., żikr) Arabic chanting



List of Abbreviation

HPT Himpunan Putusan Tarjih (a compilation of fatwa and decision of Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid)

IAIN *Institut Agama Islam Negeri* (State Islamic Institute)

IMM *Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah* (University student organization)

IPNU *Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama male student association),

IPPNU *Ikatan Pelajar Putri Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama female student association)

ISHARINU *Ikatan seni Hadrah Indonesia Nahdlatul Ulama* (the Nahdlatul Ulama Indonesian *hadrah* art association)

ISNU *Ikatan Sarjana Nahdlatul Ulama* the association for the Nahdlatul Ulama scholars

JATMAN *Jam'iyyah Ahli Thariqah Al-Mu'tabarah* (the association for the NU members who follow Sufi brotherhood practices)

JQHNU *Jam'iyyatul Qurra' wal Huffazh* (the Qur'an reciter and memorizer from the Nahdlatul Ulama members)

Kemdikbud Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (the Ministry of Education and Culture)

KUA *Kantor Urusan Agama* (Religious Affairs Office)

Kultum *kuliah tujuh menit* (seven minutes religious lecture)

KUPI *Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia* (the Indonesian congress of female *ulama*)

Lakpesdam NU *Lembaga Kajian dan Pengembangan Sumberdaya Manusia Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Institution for Study and Development of Human Resources)

LAZIZNU *Lembaga Amil Zakat Infak Sadaqah Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Alms, Charity, and Donation Institution, LAZISNU)

LBMNU: *Lembaga Bahtsul Masail Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Bahtsul Masail Institution)

LDNU *Lembaga Dakwah Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Dakwah institution),

Lesbumi NU *Lembaga Seni Budaya Muslimin Indonesia Nahdlatul Ulama* (Indonesian Muslim Cultural Arts Institution)

LFNU *Lembaga Falakiyah Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Astronomical Institution)

LKKNU *Lembaga Kemaslahatan Keluarga Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Family Benefit Institution)

LKNU *Lembaga Kesehatan Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Health Institution*)*

LPBHNU *Lembaga Penyuluhan dan Bantuan Hukum Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Legal Aid Extension Institution*)*

LPBINU *Lembaga Penanggulangan Bencana dan Perubahan Iklim Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Disaster Management and Climate Change Institution*)*

LPMNU *Lembaga Pendidikan Maarif Nahdlatul Ulama* (Ma'arif Nahdlatul Ulama Educational Institution)

LPNU *Lembaga Perekonomian Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Economic Institution)

LPPNU *Lembaga Pengembangan Pertanian Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Agricultural Development Institution*)*

LPTNU *Lembaga Pendidikan Tinggi Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Higher Education Institution*)*

LTMNU *Lembaga Ta'mir Masjid Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Mosque Takmir Institution*)*

LTNU *Lembaga Ta'lif wan Nasyr Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Publication Institutio*)*

LWPNU *Lembaga Wakaf dan Pertanahan Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Land and Religious Endowment Institution*)*

MAI *Madrasah Aliyah al-I'dadiyah* (Islamic senior high school)

MTsN *Madrasah Tsnawiyah Negeri* (State Islamic Junior High School)

MTT *Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid* (The Tarjih and Renewal Council)

MUI *Majelis Ulama Indonesia* (Indonesian Ulama Council)

MWCNU *Majelis Wakil Cabang NU* (The district board of the Nahdlatul Ulama)

NU Nahdlatul Ulama, meaning the awakening of the *ulama*

PAUD *Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini* Early Childhood Education

PBNU *Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama (*The central board of the Nahdlatul Ulama*)*

PBNU *Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama (*the central board of the Nahdlatul Ulama)

PCNU *Pengurus Cabang NU* (The regional board of the Nahdlatul Ulama),

PERGUNU *Persatuan Guru Nahdlatul Ulama* (the association for the Nahdlatul Ulama teachers)

Perti *Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah* The union for Islamic education

PGAN *Pendidikan Guru Agama Negeri* (the State Religious Teacher Education)

PHBI Peringatan Hari Besar Islam (the celebration of the Islamic holidays)

PKK *Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (Family Welfare and Empowerment)

PKS *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* (Prosperous Justice Party)

PKU *Pendidikan Kader Ulama* (training for young Muslim scholars)

PMII *Persatuan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia* Indonesian Muslim student association

PPIM *Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat* (Centre for the Advancement of Research and Policy Studies on Islamic Education and Socio-Religious Development)

PUI *Persatuan Umat Islam* (The unity of Muslims)

Puskesmas *Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat* (the Community Health Centre)

PUTM *Pendidikan Ulama Tarjih Muhammadiyah* (Tarjih Muhammadiyah Ulama Education)

PWNU *Pengurus Wilayah NU (*The provincial board of the Nahdlatul Ulama)

RA Raudlatul Atfal (Islamic kindergartens)

RMINU *Rabithah Ma'ahid al-Islamiyah Nahdlatul Ulama* (Nahdlatul Ulama Islamic Boarding Association)

SARBUMUSI *Serikat Buruh Muslimin Indonesia* (the Indonesian Muslim labour union*)*

SNNU *Serikat Nelayan Nahdlatul Ulama* (the Nahdlatul Ulama fisherman union)

UIN *Universitas Islam Negeri* (State Islamic University

UNWAHA *Universitas Wahab Hasbullah* (K.H.A. Wahab Hasbullah University)

YKM *Yayasan Kesejahteraan Musimat* (The Muslimat Welfare Foundation)

PSB

PENERIMAAN SANTRI BARU TAHUN 2021

Pondok Pesantren Darussalam

DUKUHWALUH - PURWOKERTO



PONDOK PESANTREN DARUSSALAM
YAYASAN DARUSSALAM SUNAN BONANG
DUKUHWALUH - PURWOKERTO

SK. Menteri Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia Republik Indonesia
Nomor : AHU-0012457.AH.01.04. Tahun 2017, Tanggal 15 Agustus 2017.
Alamat : Jl. Sunan Bonang No. 37, RT 03/06, Desa Dukuhwaluh, Kec. Kembaran, Kab. Banyumas - Purwokerto, 53182 No. Telp. (0281) 6843 555,
HP. 0896 5516 2938 (Pondok Putra), 0812 2978 4841 (Pondok Putri)

PROFIL

Pondok Pesantren "Darussalam" Dukuhwaluh-Purwokerto dibawah naungan Yayasan Darussalam "Sunan Bonang" berdiri sejak tahun 2003 M. Dengan metode pembelajaran yang kolaboratif antara metode pesantren salaf (tradisional) dengan pesantren kholaf (modern), Pondok Pesantren "Darussalam" bermaksud mencetak santri yang intelek.

VISI

"Terwujudnya kader muslim yang shalih, berakidah yang kuat, konsisten menjalankan syari'at Islam, berakhlak mulia, memiliki kedalaman ilmu dan berwawasan luas serta memiliki kemampuan keterampilan yang memadai"

MISI

- Mencetak kader muslim yang shalih, memiliki iman yang kuat dengan menanamkan nilai-nilai akidah Ahlussunah wal Jama'ah.
- Menyediakan sumber daya manusia yang mendalami syari'at Islam secara konsisten dan mengamalkannya di tengah-tengah masyarakat.
- Mewujudkan manusia yang berakhlakul karimah sehat jasmani dan rohani yang dapat menjadi teladan bagi kehidupan bermasyarakat, berbangsa dan bernegara.
- Mewujudkan insan muslim yang memiliki kedalaman ilmu dan keluasan wawasan, taat mengamalkan, mengembangkan dan menyebarluaskan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari.
- Menyiapkan calon pemimpin yang memiliki ketrampilan yang memadai seiring dengan perkembangan ilmu pengetahuan dan teknologi.

@ponpesdarussalam Pondok Pesant

Summary

This dissertation focuses on Muslim women, their position of religious authority, agency, and role within two patriarchal religious organizations in Indonesia. It analyzes how the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women gain their position as religious authorities, exercise their agency, and play important roles within the patriarchal religious organizations – Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama – through the Qur'an recitation practices during life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals.

Several studies of female religious authority have been written in various academic disciplines such as history, anthropology, education, sociology. Many of these studies give attention to the way in which Muslim women achieve their position as female religious authority. First, through their agency by actively seeking training, teaching, preaching, leading ritual and interpreting or reinterpreting religious texts. Another way for Muslim women to gain a position as religious authority is through the involvement of state or non-governmental institutions. Other studies have focused on the role of these female religious authorities in a variety of fields. For instance, these studies have focused on their role in interpreting, or reinterpreting religious texts, in offering religious lessons and guidance or leading religious rituals by being state functionaries, teachers, preachers, mosque instructors, Sufi and Islamic institutions leaders.

Little attention has been paid to the way in which these Muslim women gain their position as religious authorities, exercise agency, and play their role within a patriarchal religious organization in which men hold more power and authority, and women are excluded from accessing positions of authority. Therefore, I concentrate on these issues by exploring how women of the Muhammadiyah and NU achieve their position as religious authorities within these patriarchal organizations. Furthermore, by focusing on their role in defining "Islamic ritual" and negotiating Islamic texts within the local contexts during the Qur'an recitation practices in the life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals as the central perspective.

In order to answer the research question in this dissertation, I need a conceptual model that addresses the relationship between women as individual agents, the patriarchal organization as structure, and ritual practices. Some of the relevant literature indicates that three arguments are associated with the authority of women in a patriarchal movement. The first of these arguments is the pragmatist or top-down model in which the source of the authority of these women is given by the movement or organization. The second theory is the agency-focused argument or the bottom-up model in which women use their agency to gain a position of authority. And, the third is a combination between the top-down and bottom-up arguments. In this study, I argue for the combination between the top-down

argument and bottom-up model in which both patriarchal movements and individual agents play essential roles in the way women achieve their position of authority.

This study discusses the Islamic field in Indonesia, especially the field of the patriarchal religious organizations, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, and Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women. I find Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice particularly helpful for analysing this condition. This theory pays attention to the way individual agents gain a position within a particular field by acquiring different types of capital. In addition, it attempts to reconcile structure and agency relationships.

Bourdieu's works have a great influence in the study of religion. His concepts have been applied by many scholars and become starting points for some new approaches. His theoretical model of religion, however, has some shortcomings and limitations. Bourdieu's model of religion, as some authors indicate (Dianteill, 2003; Dillon, 2001; McKinnon et al., 2011; Rey, 2007; Thielmann, 2013; Verter, 2003) relies mostly on the context of Roman Catholic church in France. McKinnon et al. (2011), points out that Bourdieu's concept in the field of religion is "too 'French' and too 'Catholic', which limits its applicability to the study of other religious traditions and contexts". Another weakness is that his concept is too "rigidly structured to adequately comprehend contemporary fluid religious (or 'spiritual') realities" (p. 355). For instance, in the view of Bourdieu, the religious field is monopolized by a single institution, i.e., the Roman Catholic Church in France. The institution of the Catholic church maintains the monopoly of access to good salvation. Religious capital is organizationally dispensed, and the church officials hold an exclusive authority for conducting baptism, marriage, ordination, or the other administration of sacraments (McKinnon, p. 359).

This, according to Verter (2003) "leaves little room for imagining lay people as social actors capable" (p. 151). For Bourdieu, as indicated by Dillon (2001) "the authentic religious producers are the official institutional specialists who consciously reinterpret religion, as opposed to the dispossessed consumers/laity, who can merely demand but not supply religious meanings and goods" (p. 414). In her research among American Catholics, Dillon (2001) argues that the laity are not merely consumers or passive agents, but they were often producers.

Build upon the above shortcomings, a few scholars like Verter (2003) and Urban (2003) attempt to develop Bourdieu's notion of religious field and redefine symbolic capital related to religion as spiritual capital. In their view, symbolic capital can be accumulated individually by laity instead of monopolized by an institution. Regarding Islamic fields, some authors attempt to utilise Bourdieu's theory of religious field to interpret their study such as Türkmen (2021) and Yusupova (2020). Other researchers, however, use his general theory of practice instead of his explicit concept of religious field to interpret Islamic fields such as Thielman (2013). From the etic perspective, this study attempts to develop the concept of capital and agency in Islamic field in Indonesia.

Women of this study gain their position of authority and exercise agency in patriarchal organizations through ritual practices. Therefore, in addition to applying Bourdieu's practice theory, I use Catherine Bell's ritual theory (1997) in which she proposes to analyse ritual as practice. According to Bell (1997, p. 83), most practice theories assume

that ritual is part of the historical process in which past patterns are reproduced, reinterpreted, or transformed. Rituals are transformed or modified, and actions are restructured. Bell argues that the relationship between ritual and its various contexts can result in the changes of structures, symbols, and reinterpretation of ritual activities. Women of the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU in this study attempted to negotiate the meaning and practice of Islamic ritual, in particular when Islam meet local culture. To analyse my findings related to this issue, I use the concept of acculturation as well as Islamic ritual. Thus, this study also tries to develop these concepts.

Research methods

As above mentioned, this study aims to explain the way the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women gain position of religious authority, exercise their agency, and play important roles within the patriarchal religious organization through the Qur'an recitation practices during the life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals. To capture these phenomena, long association and extended participation are needed. Therefore, I chose an ethnographic approach to gather the data. This approach allowed me to gain insights and access knowledge directly from both communities, explore the complexity and nuances of their behaviour and interaction with the context, and observe the dynamics that occurred within the communities.

The empirical data were collected during approximately one year of fieldwork from February 2018 to February 2019, in two regencies in Java: Jombang East Java, mainly in the areas of *kecamatan* Jombang, and Bantul the special region of Yogyakarta in the areas of *kecamatan* Kasihan and Sewon. The fieldwork comprised of various methods to gather data such as in depth interview, participant observations, fieldnotes, and document collection.

Main conclusions

This dissertation concludes that through the Qur'anic recitation practices in the public life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals, the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU in this study gained a position of religious authority by accumulating and expressing symbolic capital mixed of cultural and social as well as showing the compatibility of their habitus with the habitus of the organizations. Through these rituals, they exercised agency by negotiating Islamic rituals and attempting to bridge the gap between the past practices and the present as well as reinterpreting the prescription of the ritual practices in different contexts. Also, through these rituals, they played important roles in conveying Islamic teaching based on the views of the organizations and in maintaining the identity of the Muhammadiyah as the modernist and NU as the traditionalist organizations.

In addition to the emic perspective above, to expand this study to a broader context, I reflect on the theoretical perspective I employed in this research and attempt to engage in the scholarly discussion on some concepts I described in chapter One. First, related to using Bourdieu's theory in Islamic fields. In this research, I argue that turning away from Bourdieu's explicit concept of religious field and using Bourdieu's general concepts of field,

capital, and habitus can help us analysing Islamic fields in the Indonesian context. As explained in this dissertation, there is no single institution dominating Islamic fields in Indonesia. Religious authority is either 'official' in the hand of formal institutions such as fatwa organizations and Islamic authority centres, or 'unofficial' in the hand of groups such as individual ulama, Sufi, and new Muslim intellectuals. Individual agents outside the formal institutions may be recognised as authorities, become more authoritative, and have greater influence within Muslim societies than those inside the official institutions.

These individual agents achieve position of religious authorities by accumulating symbolic capital in accordance with the Islamic fields in Indonesia. The legitimate capital is different from one sub-field to another. This symbolic capital is mostly individually accumulated through various ways. For instance, through learning Islamic knowledge in formal Islamic institutions or informal religious gatherings, cultivating individual piety, and having a good network. The structures of Islamic fields, however, also play an essential role in providing knowledge and practices of Islam and giving spaces for individual agents to accumulate and exhibit their capital. In the Islamic fields of the Indonesian context, this capital could be converted into other forms of capital. For instance, those who possess symbolic capital in accordance with the Islamic fields may gain a greater position within a larger social network. The holder of this capital may also get many benefits or develop economic basis. In the political field, they may also gain a high position. Nevertheless, these phenomena need further research to know the dynamic within the different Islamic fields.

Religious habitus as described by Rey (2003), "is the specifically religious dimension of an individual agent's habitus that manifest itself most apparently" (p. 92). It is one's preferences, tastes, dispositions, views in the religious field. Within the Islamic fields in Indonesia, the habitus of individual agents are shaped by the objective structures and at the same time shape the structures. With various Islamic sub-fields in the Indonesian context, different kinds of habitus are also found. Individual agents have agency and more room within the fields. It does not mean, however, they resist to the structures. Instead, many of them choose to express their agency in the form of obedience.

Second, related to the dynamic between Islam and local culture, in the Indonesian contexts, when the traditions of Islam and local cultures meet, various acculturation models are found. The first model is adaptation. Adaptation happens when groups or individuals wish to maintain their Islamic culture and at the same time accept local culture without changing the elements of the culture. In Berry's model (1997), this strategy is known as integration. The second model is called separation. It occurs when groups or individuals attempt to maintain their Islamic culture and abandon local culture. The third model is reformation. It happens when groups or individuals attempt to replace local culture by Islamic tradition. The fourth strategy is known as neutralization. It occurs when groups or individuals maintain Islamic tradition while selectively accept some elements of local culture. Schwarts et al. (2010), call this model as enculturation. In the process of acculturation, as Zhou (1997) indicated, situational determinants and environmental factors impact the availability, advantages and selection of various acculturation strategies. For instance, educational background, place of residence, available resources, organizational background (such as modernist or traditionalist).

Third, this study shows that there were varying opinions among Muslim communities in Indonesia regarding the concept of Islamic ritual. For instance, in the view of the Muhammadiyah organization, additional practices of rituals included in the category of '*ibādah maḥḍah* are un-Islamic. Meanwhile, additional practices of rituals related to the matters of *ibādah ghair maḥḍah* can be regarded as Islamic if they are practised within the framework of Islamic teachings. On the other hand, in the opinion of NU, elaboration of ritual practices can be regarded as Islamic as long as they have scriptural roots and do not contradict Islamic teachings. In the local contexts, the opinion of the religious authority figures of both organizations also varies. Some of them regard a ritual as Islamic only if it has a precedent in the time of the Prophet and his companions. Conversely, it is un-Islamic if the Prophet and his companions had not practised it. For them, additional practices derived from local traditions are not accepted. According to these religious authority figures, there are only two categories of ritual in Islam, accepted Islamic ritual and rejected un-Islamic ritual. Other religious authority agents regard a ritual as Islamic if it is practised within the framework of Islamic teachings, whether or not it is performed by the Prophet and his companions. In their opinion, some un-Islamic local customs can be modified and changed into Islamic rituals. They imply that ritual in Islam can be divided into accepted, modified from local traditions, and rejected.

The varying opinions and diversity of ritual practices within Muslim communities show that past patterns are reproduced, reinterpreted, or transformed as argued by Bell (1997). Furthermore, the above facts do not mean that one community is more orthodox than the other, nor indicate that the practice of one community is more Islamic than the other. As Asad (2009) argues, whenever Muslims have the power to negotiate correct or incorrect practices, there is the domain of orthodoxy. Furthermore, all of the various practices are part of Islamic tradition. "Traditions should not be regarded as essentially homogenous, that heterogeneity in Muslim practices is not necessarily an indication of the absence of an Islamic tradition. The variety of traditional Muslim practices in different times, places, and populations indicate the different Islamic reasonings that different social and historical conditions can or cannot sustain" (p. 23). Therefore, I argue that considering Islam as a discursive tradition is a constructive way to understand Islam and Muslim practices, in particular with regard to the issue of Islamic ritual.

darussalampurwokerto.com

Media Informasi Pondok Pesantren Darussalam Dukuhwaluh Purwokerto



TILBURG UNIVERSITY



Understanding Society

This book is about Muslim women, their position of religious authority, agency, and role within the patriarchal religious organizations in Indonesia. It aims at analyzing the way the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU women gain their position as religious authorities, exercise their agency, and play important roles within two patriarchal religious organizations – Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama – through the Qur'an recitation practices during life cycle, calendrical and occasional rituals. Using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice and Catherine Bell's ritual theory as the conceptual models, this study concludes that through the Qur'anic recitation practices in the public life cycle, calendrical, and occasional rituals, the Aisyiyah and Muslimat NU in this study gained a position of religious authority by accumulating and expressing symbolic capital mixed of cultural and social as well as showing the compatibility of their habitus with the habitus of the organizations. Through these rituals, they exercised agency by negotiating Islamic rituals and attempting to bridge the gap between the past practices and the present as well as reinterpreting the prescription of the ritual practices in different contexts. Also, through these rituals, they played important roles in conveying Islamic teaching based on the views of the organizations and in maintaining the identity of the Muhammadiyah as the modernist and NU as the traditionalist organizations.

Farah Nuril Izza conducted her PhD research at the Department of Culture Studies Tilburg School of Humanities and Digital Sciences Tilburg University The Netherlands

PONDOK PESANTREN DARUSSALAM
DUKUHWALUH
PURWOKERTO

TILBURG UNIVERSITY

